NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016

THE

# HISTORY

OF

# *ITALY*,

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

37551

IN TWENTY BOOKS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH by the

Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,

Knight of the Military Order of St. *Stephen*.

VOL. IV.

Containing the SEVENTH and EIGHTH BOOKS of the Hiſtory.

LONDON:
Printed by JOHN TOWERS, in *Piccadilly*.
M.DCC.LIII.

00037551

*Additional* SUBSCRIBERS *to the Tranſlation of* Guicciardini's *Hiſtory ſince the Publication of the ſecond Volume.*

A.

*Lord* Aboyne
Edward Aſtley, Eſq;
John Affleck, Eſq;
Huſſey Apriece, Eſq;
Edward Archer, *M. D.*
*Dean of* Armagh

B.

*Lord* Bernard
*Sir* Walter Baggot, Bart.
*Sir* Henry Bellandine, Bart.
Edward Bowater, Eſq;
Richard Berry, Eſq;
William Beckford, Eſq;
Cap. Warre Bamfylde, Eſq;
William Bromley, Eſq;
Henry Bethel, Eſq;
James Butler, Eſq;

C.

*Prince* Corſini
*Sir* Charles Cheſter, Bart.
William Cartwright, Eſq;
Benedict Conqueſt, Eſq;
Patrick Crawford, Eſq;
J. H. Cox, Eſq;
Thomas Cholmondeley, Eſq;
*Mr.* H. Shute Cox, *Bookſ.* 20 *Sets*

Names of the SUBSCRIBERS.

D.

*Lord Viſcount* Dungarvan
*Rt. Hon.* George Doddington
*Hon.* Charles Dormer
William Drake, Eſq;
Andrew Drummond, Eſq;
William Dolben, Eſq;
James Dawkins, *Jun.* Eſq;
*Capt.* Draper

E.

*Sir* Henry Every, Bart.

F.

*Earl* Fitzwllliams
*Lord* Fielding
*Hon.* Edward Finch
*Sir* Cordel Firebrace, Bart.
Richard Fitzgerald, Eſq;
William Fouquire, Eſq;

G.

*Mrs.* Gordon

H.

*Governor* Horn
William Harvey, Eſq;
John Hill, Eſq;
William Godſchall, Eſq;
*Mr.* Hodgſon
Francis Huttne, Eſq;

John

Names of the SUBSCRIBERS.

I.

John Jeffrey, Eſq;
*Mr.* Job Johnſon

L.

*Sir* John Leiſter, Bart.
*Mr.* William Langdale

M.

*Lord* Montfort
*Sir* Edward Montague, *Kt of Bath*
John Murray, Eſq;
William Mannock, Eſq;
George Medley, Eſq;
John Moreton, Eſq;

N.

*Earl of* Northampton
William Northey, Eſq;

P.

*Earl of* Powis
Edward Pennant, Eſq;
Edward Pitts, Eſq;
John Tred. Pinney, Eſq;
Vincent Peyps, Eſq;
*Mr.* S. Patteſon, *Bookſ.* 3 *Sets*

R.

*Lord* Ravenſworth
Edward Reppington, Eſq;
William Robinſon, Eſq;

S.

*Lord* Sturton

Names of the SUBSCRIBERS.

*Sir* Charles Sedley, Bart.
Thomas Sheffield, Eſq;
*Sir* Charles Stapleton, Bart.
Archibald Stuart, Eſq;
John Shuttleworth, Eſq;
Henry Seymour, Eſq;
Walter Smith, Eſq;

T.

*Mrs.* Townley
Richard Trevor, Eſq;

V,

O Evan Vaughan, Eſq;
*Signor* Vanneſchi

W.

*Lord* Wenman
John Wade, Eſq;
Thomas Worſley, Eſq;
William Wright, Eſq;
*Mr.* George Woodfall, 20 Sets

The Names of future Subſcribers will be inſerted in one of the following Volumes.

# *Franceſco Guicciardini's*
# HISTORY
## OF
# The WARS in ITALY.

## BOOK VII.

### THE CONTENTS.

*The Pope endeavours to get Poſſeſſion of* Romagna, *and for this Purpoſe ſtirs up ſeveral Princes againſt the* Venetians. Maximilian *inconſiderately attempts to force his Way into* Italy. *His ill Succeſs in* Friuli. *The Pope makes himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Towns to which the Church had a Right. The King of* Spain *comes into* Italy. *The Plot at* Ferrara. *Tumults in* Genoa. *The Diet of* Conſtance. *A Congreſs between the Kings of* France *and* Aragon *at* Savona.

THE Public had Reaſon to expect that the Year 1705, having put an End to the Wars, occaſioned by the different Claimants to the Kingdom *A. D.* 1505. Reaſons for Peace of in *Italy*,

*A. D.* 1505. of *Naples*, *Italy* would now enjoy Peace and Tranquillity: But there ſoon appeared plenty of Sparks that threatened a new Combuſtion. For *Philip*, who had taken upon him the Title of King of *Caſtile*, being diſſatisfied that his Father-in-law ſhould retain the Government of his Kingdom, was preparing, at the Invitation of ſeveral of the Nobility, ſorely againſt the Inclination of *Ferdinando*, for his Journey into *Spain*. He pretended, and indeed with Reaſon, that it had not been in the Power of the late Queen to enact Laws concerning the Government, that ſhould be obligatory after her Deceaſe. And the King of the *Romans*, preſuming on his Son's Greatneſs, deſigned to make a Progreſs into *Italy*.

as alſo for War.

THE King of *France*, in the preceding Year, had been highly diſſatisfied with the Pope, for conferring, without his Participation, all the Benefices which became vacant by the Death of Cardinal *Aſcanio*, and other Eccleſiaſtics in the Dutchy of *Milan*; and becauſe in a late Promotion of Cardinals, paying no Regard

to

tain General, and *Giovan Luigi*, and *Giovanni Vitelli*, Sons of the late *Giovanni* and *Camillo*, and *Renzo da Ceri*, whom they appointed General of all their Foot. *A. D.* 1510.

THE Pontiff having thus openly taken the *Venetians* into his Patronage, procured a Treaty of Peace between them and *Cæsar*, in hopes, by that Means, not only to ſeparate him from *Lewis*, but to induce him, in conjunction with himſelf and the *Venetians*, to make War upon him. And that he might the more eaſily accompliſh his Purpoſe by means of *Cæsar*'s Neceſſities, he interpoſed his Authority with the Electors of the Empire, and with the Free Towns, that in the Diet of *Auſburg*, they ſhould come to no Reſolution about granting him a Supply. But the longer he treated, the greater Difficulties he met with in compaſſing his Deſign: For *Cæsar* would hearken to no Agreement without retaining *Verona*; and the *Venetians*, in whom the Pope thought to have found more Compliance, promiſing themſelves that whatever happened they ſhould be able to defend *Padoua*, and Mediates a Peace between the *Venetians* and *Cæsar*.

A. D. 1510. that while they kept poſſeſſion of that City, Time would furniſh them with many favourable Opportunities, obſtinately demanded the Reſtitution of *Verona*, offering to pay in Recompenſe a very large Sum of Money. The Pope was ever ſtimulating the King of *England* to enter into a War with the King of *France*, putting him in Mind of the antient Enmity between the two Kingdoms, and demonſtrating the fair Opportunity of a moſt proſperous Succeſs: For if he took up Arms againſt that King, many others, who were either jealous of, or hated his Power, would follow his Example. He therefore exhorted him to embrace, with that Devotion which was peculiar to the Kings of *England*, the Opportunity now offered of acquiring the Glory of being the Protector and Preſerver of the Apoſtolic See, which was otherwiſe in moſt manifeſt Danger from the Ambition of the King of *France*. The King of *Aragon*, tho' with great Secreſy, added his Sollicitations to the ſame Purpoſe. But, what was of more Importance, the Pontiff had at laſt concluded a Treaty with the

to his earneſt Sollicitation, he had refuſed to confer that Dignity on the Biſhop of *Aus* *, the Cardinal of *Rouen*'s Nephew, and on the Biſhop of *Bajeux*, Nephew to *Tremouille*; and out of Reſentment had put under Sequeſtration all the Revenues of thoſe numerous Benefices, that the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, and ſeveral other Prelates, Favourites of the Pope, enjoyed in the Dutchy of *Milan*. But being now under terrible Apprehenſions from the Power of the King of the *Romans* and his Son, he was deſirous of ingratiating himſelf with his Holineſs. He therefore took off all the Sequeſtrations, and in the beginning of this Year ſent to *Rome* the Biſhop of *Siſteron*, who was the Apoſtolic Nuntio at his Court, to make various Propoſals, amongſt the reſt offering his Alliance againſt the *Venetians*, who, he knew, were very obnoxious to his Holineſs, on account of the Cities they poſſeſſed in *Romagna*, which he was paſſionately deſirous of recovering. A. D. 1505. 1506.

JULIUS hitherto had governed with ſo much Tranquillity and Moderation, that



* In ſome Editions *Arbx*.

*A. D.* 1506. the Minds of the People were full of Admiration at his Behaviour, and could not comprehend that a Pope, who when Cardinal was full of nothing but vaſt Projects, and deep Deſigns, and who in the Times of his Predeceſſors *Sixtus*, *Innocent*, and *Alexander*, was reckoned to have a chief Hand in fomenting all the Diſturbances of *Italy*, ſhould now, ſince his Exaltation to the Popedom, a Station too often attended with ambitious and reſtleſs Deſires, appear to have quite diveſted himſelf of that Ardour of Spirit, and to have ſunk below that Greatneſs of Mind, of which he had always the Vanity to boaſt, and become ſo unlike himſelf, as tamely to ſuffer Injuries without ſhewing the leaſt Reſentment.

The Pope's mild Behaviour.

*Julius* alters his Conduct.

BUT *Julius* was not in the leaſt altered; on the contrary, he was determined, in a proper Time, to exceed the Expectations that had been raiſed of him. His former generous and expenſive Way of living, had been turned into an eager Deſire of accumulating Money, which he

he knew to be the Sinews of War, and which, whenever he ſhould be engaged in one, would enable him to maintain it; and having by this Time amaſſed a conſiderable Sum, he began to diſcover that he had Thoughts and Views of the largeſt Extent. He received and hearkened to the Biſhop of *Siſteron* with abundance of Pleaſure, and diſpatched him back with proper Inſtructions for cementing a cloſe Friendſhip with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and the better to diſpoſe the King and Cardinal of *Rouen* to concur in his Meaſures, he ſent a Brief by *Siſteron*, in which he promiſed the Cardinalſhip to the Biſhops of *Aus* and *Bayeux*: Yet in the midſt of this mighty Ardor, his Mind was ſometimes agitated with Scruples and Difficulties, which proceeded from the Hatred he had conceived againſt the King of *France*, when, flying from the Perſecution of *Alexander*, he retired into that Kingdom; neither did he reliſh the Force, which, in a manner, was put upon him, to continue *Rouen* in the Legation of the Kingdom of *France*; ſometimes he feared that the Cardinal, who paſſionately aimed at

*A. D.* 1506.

*A. D.* 1506. the Popedom, would not have Patience to wait for his Death, but might try, by ſome extraordinary Means, to compaſs his Deſign. Theſe Reflections rendered him ſometimes doubtful, whether he ſhould unite with *France*; tho' he was ſenſible, that, without this Conjunction, he was not, as yet, capable of undertaking any thing of Moment. Whilſt he was thus unreſolved, he ſent to *Piſa* one *Biaſcia*, a *Genoeſe*, who was Captain of his Gallies, with Orders to arm there two light Gallies, which had been built by *Alexander*; with a View, as it was thought, to be in Readineſs, if the King of *France* died, who ſeemed to be in a bad State of Health ſince his laſt Sickneſs, to free *Genoa* from the Dominion of the *French*.

I

WHILST the State of Affairs was in this Suſpenſe, the Year 1506 began with King *Philip*'s Departure from the *Low-Countries* with a powerful Fleet for *Spain* *.

That

* He embarked the 10th of *January* with Fifty Sail, which had Four Hundred *Flemiſh* Gentlemen on board, Two Thouſand Five Hundred *Germans*, Three Hundred *Flemings*, and Three Hundred *Swiſs* Halberdiers. *Buon-*

That Prince fearing his Father-in-law might, with the Aſſiſtance of *France*, obſtruct his Deſigns, made uſe of *Spaniſh* Diſſimulation to deceive him. For he promiſed to leave in a manner the whole Direction of the Government to *Ferdinando*, and agreed that both ſhould retain the Title of King of *Spain*, in the ſame manner as he and his deceaſed Queen had done; and that the Money ariſing from the Finances ſhould be divided in a certain Proportion between them. By Virtue of this Agreement *Ferdinando*, tho' he had no Security for the Performance of the Articles, ſent a large Fleet into *Flanders*, to convey *Philip* into *Spain*; on which he embarked, being accompanied by his Wife, and *Ferdinando* his ſecond Son, and ſet Sail with a fair Wind for *Spain*. After two Days ſailing a violent Storm aroſe, and diſperſed the whole Fleet on the Coaſts of *Bretany* and, *England*. The King, with two or three Ships, after running a great Riſque of being caſt away, landed at the Port of *Antona* *. *Henry* VII, King of *England*, ſent a great Retinue of Lords

*A. D.* 1506.

*Philip* embarks for *Spain*.

Is caſt on the *Engliſh* Coaſt.

* *Southampton*.

*A. D.* 1506. Lords and Gentlemen to compliment him, and to invite him to *London*. As *Philip*, deprived of his Fleet, was not in a Condition to act as he pleaſed, he complied with *Henry*'s Requeſt, and ſtaid with him till his Fleet was collected; and while it was refitting, a new Treaty was concluded and ſigned by the two Kings. *Philip* was treated as a Sovereign in all Reſpects excepting one, in which he was uſed like a Priſoner, *Henry* extorting from him a Promiſe to deliver up to him the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had taken Refuge in the *Low-Countries*, and was then in the Caſtle of *Nanur*. As this Earl laid Claim to the Crown of *England*, *Henry* was greatly deſirous of having him in his Power, but gave his Word, that his Life ſhould be ſpared. He was accordingly ſent to *England*, and put in Priſon, where he lived to the Death of *Henry* VII, but was afterwards beheaded by his Son *Henry* VIII.

Goes to *London*.

Signs a Treaty with *Hen.* VII.

*Philip* received joyfully in *Spain*. PHILIP had a better Paſſage from *England* into *Spain*, where, on his Arrival, almoſt all the Grandees reſorted to him. *Ferdinando*, who knew he had not

a

a ſufficient Force to oppoſe his Son-in-law, and did not think it ſafe to rely on *French* Promiſes, had depended wholly on his late Agreement with *Philip*; but when the Articles of that Treaty were ſcornfully rejected, he ſaw himſelf generally abandoned, and it was with great Difficulty he could be admitted to the Preſence of his Son-in-law; wherefore he found himſelf obliged to ſubmit to whatever Conditions ſhould be preſcribed him by *Philip*, who being a Prince of a mild and generous Temper, would not uſe his Power with Rigour, nor take all the Advantages that offered, eſpecially as the old King's greateſt Enemies now pleaded for him; which they did in order to haſten his Departure out of *Caſtile*; for they began to fear that *Ferdinando*, by his Prudence and Authority, would gain too much on their Sovereign. *A. D.* 1506.

Treaty between *Philip* and *Ferdinando*.

IT was then ſtipulated, that *Ferdinando*, relinquiſhing the Government he had taken Poſſeſſion of by Virtue of the Will of the late Queen, together with all that he could pretend to on that Account, ſhould

A. D. 1506. ſhould retire inſtantly out of *Caſtile*, and promiſe never to return: That *Ferdinando* ſhould retain the Kingdom of *Naples*; tho' there were not wanting thoſe who endeavoured, and with good Reaſon, to make *Philip* ſenſible, that he himſelf had a better Right to that Kingdom, which had been acquired by the Arms and Power of *Caſtile*. *Ferdinando* was allowed to enjoy the Revenues of the *Weſt-Indies* during his Life, together with the three Lordſhips of *San Jacopo*, *Alcantara*, and *Calatrava*, and receive annually a Penſion of Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats out of the Revenues of *Caſtile*.

*Ferdinando* returns into his Kingdom of *Aragon*.

AFTER the ſigning of this Treaty, *Ferdinando*, whom, for the future, we ſhall call the King of *Aragon*, or the Catholic King, returned immediately to his Kingdom of *Aragon*, with a Deſign to paſs with all Speed by Sea to *Naples* *; not ſo much out of a Curioſity to ſee that Kingdom, and put it in good Order, as to remove the Great Captain, whom he had

* He ſet Sail from *Barcelona* on *Sept.* 4, 1506, with a Fleet of Fifty Veſſels. *Buon.*

had very much ſuſpected, ſince the Queen's Death, to be meditating how to make himſelf Sovereign of that Country, or, at leaſt, that he was inclined to deliver it up to *Philip* rather than to himſelf; for he had in vain ordered him to return to *Spain*, and he ever deferred it under various and frivolous Pretences; which made the King very doubtful whether he ſhould be able to compel him to quit that Government, unleſs he went thither in Perſon, though King *Philip*, after the Capitulation, had given him Notice, that he expected he ſhould pay all Obedience to the King of *Aragon*. A. D. 1506.

THE King of *France*, by this time, in a great meaſure recovered from his late Indiſpoſition, was agitated by various perplexing Thoughts, and in doubt whether he ſhould turn his Arms againſt the *Venetians*. The Conduct of that Republic, in the *Neapolitan* War, had highly provoked him; he had alſo a mighty Deſire to recover the antient Appendages of the State of *Milan* *; beſides which, he was

* Theſe were *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*, which were

*A. D.* 1506. was apprehenſive that their Power might, at one time or other, be prejudicial to his Intereſts. Theſe, among others, were the Reaſons that had induced him to enter into an Alliance with the King of the *Romans*, and his Son *Philip*. But, on the other Hand, the Advice he had received, that *Maximilian* was preparing to march into *Italy* at the Head of a powerful Army, was very diſagreeable to him; for he grew very jealous of *Philip*, who inherited ſuch vaſt Dominions, and who, he feared, had, when in *England*, entered into ſome new and ſtrong Engagements with the King of that Country. He alſo conſidered, that by the Peace he had concluded with the Catholic King, he had given over all Thoughts of acquiring the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had been the principal Reaſon for his entering into an Alliance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

WHILE *Lewis* was fluctuating in this Variety of Thoughts, Ambaſſadors from *Maxi-*

were diſmembered from the *Milaneſe*, and yielded to the *Venetians* by Treaty; or perhaps the Author might intend alſo *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, *Crema*, *&c.* which antiently appertained to the Dukedom of *Milan*.

*Maximilian* arrived at his Court, to notify to his Majeſty their Maſter's Reſolution of paſſing into *Italy*, demanding, at the ſame time, that he would get in Readineſs the Five Hundred Lances according to Engagement; would give Orders for the Reſtoration of the *Milaneſe* Exiles, and deſired alſo that the Payment of the Sums, which in a few Months would become due, might be anticipated. *A. D.* 1506. *Maximilian* notifies to *Lewis* his Reſolution of paſſing into *Italy*.

THE King, tho' he did not intend to comply with theſe Demands, yet he amuſed the Ambaſſadors with fair Speeches, and told them that he was ready to obſerve all that had been ſtipulated, at the appointed Times; but that, for cogent Reaſons, it was not convenient for him to advance the Money before the Time limited was expired.

MAXIMILIAN, who was equally diſtruſtful of the King of *France*, and paſſionately deſirous of taking a Progreſs to *Rome*, principally for the ſake of receiving the Imperial Crown, that he might afterwards get his Son elected King

*A. D.* 1506. King of the *Romans*, was taking, at the ſame time, other Methods to compaſs his Ends, and had ſent into *Swiſſerland* to negotiate an Alliance with the *Helvetick* Body. But they, after ſeveral Conſultations, returned for Anſwer, That they were determined to adhere ſtrictly to the Alliance which they had contracted with *France*, that would not expire for Two Years. He had alſo demanded of the *Venetians* a Paſſage thro' their Territories: But they, relying on the freſh Aſſurances which they had received from *France*, ſatisfied themſelves with returning general Anſwers, being jealous of his marching through their Dominions with a powerful Army.

Seeks an Alliance with the *Swiſs*.

Demands a Paſſage thro' the *Venetian* Territories.

*Lewis* marries his Daughter *Claude* to Prince *d' Angouleſme*.

Lewis, now determined to break his Confederacy with *Maximilian* and his Son, married his Daughter *Claude* to *Francis d' Angouleſme*, to whom, in caſe he died without male Iſſue, the Crown would devolve. This Match, however, had the Appearance of being made in condeſcenſion to the Prayers of his Subjects; for he procured Addreſſes from all the Parliaments

liaments and principal Cities in the King- A. D. 1566.
dom, wherein they repreſented the Neceſſity of ſuch a Match, as it would greatly contribute to the Welfare of the Kingdom, eſpecially as the Expectations of his Majeſty's being bleſſed with male Iſſue every Day decreaſed. *Lewis* took care, at the ſame time, to diſpatch Ambaſſadors to *Philip*, to excuſe this Step which he had been obliged to take in compliment of the Inſtances of the whole Body of his Subjects. He alſo ſent Aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Guelder*, in order to divert *Maximilian* from his Journey into *Italy*. But that Prince had already put off his Expedition, on account of the dangerous Sickneſs of *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Hungary*; for, being willing to aſſert his Father's, as well as his own Pretenſions to that Kingdom, he would not be abſent on ſuch an Occaſion, but hovered on the Borders of that Country. The Grounds for his Claim were as follows.

MANY Years had paſſed ſince the Deceaſe of *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Hungary*

*A. D.* 1506. and *Bohemia*. He was Son to *Albert*, the Emperor *Frederick*'s Brother; and dying without Iſſue, the *Hungarians* aſſerting his neareſt a-Kin had no ſort of Right to their Kingdom, aſſumed to themſelves the Right of Election, and choſe *Matthias*, out of Reſpect to the Merits of his Father: This *Matthias* rendered his Name famous for having, in frequent Expeditions, and with the Force of ſo ſmall a Kingdom, carried War and Deſolation far within the Borders of the moſt powerful Empire of the *Turks*. At his coming to the Crown, to avoid all Diſputes and Differences with *Frederick*, he entered into Articles, by which he ob'iged himſelf not to marry, and that, after his Death, the Crown ſhould deſcend to *Frederick*, or his Heirs male. *Matthias* did not obſerve this Convention; he died, however, without Iſſue; neither did *Frederick* obtain his Ends, for the *Hungarians* choſe *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Poland*, for their Sovereign: Whereupon *Frederick* and *Maximilian* declared War againſt them; but at laſt it was agreed, That whenever *Uladiſlaus* ſhould die without Iſſue,

*Maximilian*'s Pretenſions to *Hungary*.

Iſſue, they would acknowledge *Maximilian* for their King; to the Performance of which the Nobility obliged themſelves by Oath. This was the Motive that induced *Maximilian*, on Advice of the Sickneſs of *Uladiſlaus*, to approach the Frontiers of *Hungary*, and to lay aſide, for the preſent, the Thoughts of his *Italian* Expedition. A. D. 1506.

WHILST the Ultramontane Princes were thus employed, the Pope, finding himſelf unable to undertake any thing of Moment, with his own Strength, againſt the *Venetians*; and obſerving with Regret ſo much Time of his Pontificate paſs away without any memorable Action, requeſted the King of *France* to aſſiſt him in reducing the Cities of *Bologna* and *Perugia*, which were antient Appendages of the Church, and now in Subjection to Tyrants; the firſt to *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, and the other to *Gianpagolo Baglione*, whoſe Anceſtors, in the Time of the Civil Wars, from private Citizens, firſt became Heads of Factions, and then by the Baniſhment or Deſtruction of the *Bologna* and *Perugia* part of the Eccleſiaſtical State.

A. D. 1506. Chiefs of their Adverſaries, uſurped an abſolute Power; ſome Meaſures, which they were under a Neceſſity of keeping with the Popes, was the only Reſtraint that withheld them from aſſuming the Title of lawful Princes. For the Pontiffs, in both theſe Cities, retained little more than the bare Name of Dominion; and tho' they received a ſmall Portion of the Revenues, and appointed Governors in the Name of the Church, yet the Power of the Magiſtracy, and the Management of public Affairs remaining in the Hands of the Tyrants, theſe Governors were a meer Cypher, and ſerved more for Show than for any other Purpoſe.

THE City of *Perugia*, as being nearer *Rome*, or for ſome other Reaſon, had continued much longer at Times under the papal Juriſdiction; but *Bologna*, in the troubleſome Times of the Pontiffs, ſuffered various Revolutions. It had once the Form of a Republic; then was governed by ſome powerful Citizen, or by ſome foreign Prince; then again was in abſolute Subjection to the Popes; and laſtly, in the

the Pontificate of *Nicolas* V, it returned under the abſolute Dominion of the holy See, but under certain Limitations, and with a Communication of Authority between the Popes and the *Bentivogli*; ſo that in proceſs of Time the Name and Shew of Sovereignty remained indeed in the Popes, but the Power and Authority were in the Hands of that Family. *Giovanni*, the preſent Ruler, by gradually depreſſing the powerful Families that had oppoſed the increaſing Grandeur of his Anceſtors and his own, had eſtabliſhed an abſolute Tyranny. But the Inſolence and Prodigality of his four Sons rendered them inſupportable; and he himſelf was become odious in his own Perſon, for want of Clemency and Good-nature. For imagining that the beſt Means to preſerve his Authority was by the Sword, and Rigour, rather than by Gentleneſs and Mercy, he choſe the moſt tyrannical Method of governing. *A. D.* 1506.

THE principal Motive that animated the Pope in his Deſign upon theſe two Cities, was his Thirſt after Glory; but cloaking his Ambition under the Name Ambition the Pope's principal Paſſion.

*A. D.* 1506. of Piety and Zeal, he pretended to have no other View than to reſtore to the Apoſtolic See whatever had been uſurped from it. He was particularly bent on the Recovery of *Bologna*, from a private Pique he had conceived againſt *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, the Occaſion of which was this: During his Perſecution under Pope *Alexander*, he durſt not truſt himſelf at *Rome*, but retired to *Cento*, a Place in his Biſhoprick in the *Bologneſe*, from whence he was forced to fly, being alarmed one Night, on Notice that was given him, whether true or falſe is uncertain, that *Bentivoglio*, at the Inſtances of the Pope, had given Orders to put him under Confinement.

*Lewis* cloſes with the Pope's Propoſal.

THE King of *France*, conſidering it was his Intereſt to have the Pope his Friend, was mightily pleaſed with his preſent Requeſt; for he was ſenſible that his Holineſs had been highly diſſatisfied at the League he had made with the *Venetians*, which, he doubted, might induce him to enter upon ſome precipitate Meaſures. He was alſo not without

Suſ-

Suſpicions that the Plot formed by *Ottaviano Tregoſo* to deprive him of the Sovereignty of *Genoa*, was with the Pope's Privity and Conſent. To all which it may be added, that the King thought he had Reaſon to believe that *Bentivoglio*, tho' under his Protection, was better affected to *Maximilian* than to himſelf. He was beſides piqued againſt *Gianpagolo Baglione*, for refuſing to join his Army on the *Garigliano*, after he had received Fourteen Thouſand Ducats on that Account; and was alſo deſirous of puniſhing *Pandolfo Petrucci*, when he ſent Forces into *Tuſcany*, for refuſing to pay the Money for which he was engaged, and for his Attachment to the *Spaniards*. A. D. 1506.

ON theſe Conſiderations, *Lewis* promiſed the Pope his immediate Aſſiſtance; and *Julius*, in requital, expedited the Briefs for conferring the Dignity of Cardinal on the Biſhops of *Aus* and *Bayeux*, and gave his Majeſty the Liberty to diſpoſe of the Benefices in the Dutchy of *Milan*, in the ſame Manner as had been practiſed by *Franceſco Sforza*. The Biſhop of *Siſteron* Treaty between the Pope and K. of *France*.

A. D. 1506. was promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Aix*, in reward for the Pains he had taken in negotiating this Treaty, which coſt him ſeveral Journeys to and fro between *Rome* and *Paris*, before he could bring it to Perfection. The Execution of it, however, was not ſo ſpeedy as was expected, becauſe the Pope had deferred, for ſome Months, the Proſecution of his intended Enterprize.

MAXIMILIAN, who had declared War againſt the King of *Hungary* *, and on that account laid aſide his Deſign of paſſing into *Italy*, having now concluded a Peace, and ſettled the Succeſſion of that Kingdom by a new Agreement, was returned into *Auſtria*, totally employed in making ſuch Preparations, as plainly indicated his Intentions of reſuming his former Project. He well knew how greatly it would conduce to the Accompliſhment of his Ends to have the *Venetians* his Friends. For this Purpoſe he ſent

*Maximilian* deſires of the *Venetians* a Paſſage for his Army.

* *Maximilian* declared War againſt the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, becauſe he had aſſiſted the Count Palatine againſt him, and had newly entered into a Rebellion againſt the Empire.

ſent Four Ambaſſadors to inform them of his Intentions of going to *Rome* to be crowned, and to demand a free Paſſage for his Army, offering to give any Security for their good Behaviour, and peaceable Demeanour, in paſſing through their States; and at the ſame Time to intimate their Maſter's Deſire of entering into an Alliance with the Republic, as ſuch an Union would not only tend to their mutual Security, but to the Increaſe and Proſperity of both; by which he meant to inſinuate, that it would be for their common Intereſt to enter into a Confederacy againſt the King of *France*. *A. D.* 1506.

AFTER ſeveral Conſultations, the Ambaſſadors had this civil Anſwer returned them, That the Republick was infinitely deſirous of preſerving a Harmony with *Maximilian*, and coveted nothing more than to gratify him in any thing that did not manifeſtly tend to its Diſadvantage, as would evidently be the Caſe ſhould they comply with his preſent Demand. For the *Italians*, lately haraſſed by ſo many Calamities, would be terribly alarmed at the Which they refuſe to grant.

D. A. 1506. the Apprehenſions of *Maximilian*'s entering their Country with a great Army, and were all determined to take up Arms to put an immediate Stop to any freſh Broils even at firſt Appearance; and that the King of *France* was of the ſame Opinion, in order to preſerve the Dutchy of *Milan*. For this Reaſon his coming armed into *Italy* could produce nothing but a ſtrong Oppoſition, which would prove of dangerous Conſequence to their Republic; ſince all the *Italian* Powers, in conjunction with the King of *France*, would fall upon them, in Reſentment for granting him the Paſſage he demanded, and for preferring their private Intereſt to the Good of the Public. They repreſented farther, that it would be more to his Honour, and carry a more friendly Aſpect, if he came unarmed. And ſuch a Conduct would give entire Satisfaction to all People; who, pleaſed to ſee the Power of the Empire exerciſed with ſuch Mildneſs, would load him with their Bleſſings, and he would then be called the glorious Preſerver of the Peace of *Italy*; that by acting thus, he would imitate his Father

and

and ſeveral of his Predeceſſors, who went to *Rome* unarmed to receive the Imperial Crown; if he proceeded in that manner, the Senate promiſed all the Reſpect and good Offices he could require of them *. A. D. 1506.

THESE warlike Preparations, and *Maximilian*'s negotiating with the *Venetians*, determined the Pope to loſe no more Time; and being reſolved to begin with *Bologna*, he demanded of the King of *France* the ſtipulated Supplies. *Lewis*, however, thought ſuch Movements dangerous at this Juncture, as tending to involve all *Italy* in a War; and therefore endeavoured, in the moſt friendly manner, to perſuade the Pope to deſiſt, at preſent, from ſuch Attempts, which he had Reaſon to fear would diſguſt the *Venetians*; ſince they had declared they would take up Arms in Defence of *Bologna*, if the Pope did not firſt make over to them all the Claim he might have to *Faenza*, in right of the Church. But *Julius* was raſh, and impatient of Contradiction, nor could

The Pope reſolves to attack *Bologna* and *Perugia*.

* *Bembo* relates the ſame Anſwer, but ſays that *Maximilian* ſent only Three Ambaſſadors.

*A. D.* 1506. could any Difficulties deter him from a Purſuit, on which he had once reſolved. Without more ado, then, he convoked a Conſiſtory, and laid before the Cardinals the Juſtice of his Cauſe, ſetting forth how neceſſary it was to free from Tyranny two ſuch eminent and important Members of the holy See, as *Bologna* and *Perugia*. He aſſured them he would go in Perſon on this Enterprize, and informed them of the Aſſiſtance he was to receive from the King of *France*, from the *Florentines*, and ſeveral other Princes in *Italy*; adding, that the juſt God, Lord of all, would not abandon the Care of his Church.

*Lewis diſavows Julius's Proceedings.*

WHEN the News of theſe Proceedings arrived at the *French* Court, the King thought it ſo ridiculous for *Julius* to preſume to mention his Name, and his Forces, before he had given them any Orders to march, that, laughing at Table, and alluding to the Pope's immoderate Love of Wine, he ſaid, "Certainly his Holineſs muſt have been in Liquor over Night, when he ſolemnly declared what muſt

muſt oblige me either to fall out with him, or, contrary to my Inclinations, countenance his impolitic Undertaking. *A. D.* 1506.

THE Pope, however, without waiting for an Anſwer *, ſet out from *Rome* at the Head of Four Hundred Men at Arms, and ſent forwards *Antonio del Monte* to *Bologna*, to give Notice of his Approach, and to command the Magiſtrates to prepare for his Reception in that Town, and Quarters for Five Hundred *French* Lances in their Territory. He made but ſlow Marches, intending to go no farther than *Perugia*, unleſs he ſhould hear that the *French* Succours were in Motion. The Pope ſets out for *Bologna*.

GIANPAGOLO BAGLIONE thought himſelf loſt; but by the Perſuaſions of the Duke of *Urbino*, and all his Friends, he, under their Guaranty, met the Pope at *Orvieto*, and ſubmitting himſelf entirely to his Pleaſure, was received into Favour, and agreed to accompany his Holineſs

* The Pope left *Rome* the 27th of *Auguſt*, accompanied by Twenty-four Cardinals, and Four Hundred Men at Arms. *Buon.*

A. D. 1506. Holineſs with One Hundred and Fifty Lances; he likewiſe conſented to put the Fortreſſes of the City, thoſe of the Territory, and the Guard of the City into his Hands. When theſe Articles were ſigned, *Gianpagolo* delivered his Sons to the Duke of *Urbino*, to be kept as Hoſtages; upon which the Pope made his Entry into *Perugia* without an armed Force; ſo that *Baglione* had it in his Power to make him and all his Court Priſoners, which he would not have ſcrupled to have done, had he been Maſter of the ſame Reſolution in an Affair that muſt have made ſo great Noiſe in the World, as he had perfidiouſly ſhewn in Matters of leſs Importance.

*Lewis* refuſes to ſend Aſſiſtance to the Pope.

DURING the Pope's Stay at *Perugia* he gave an Audience to the Cardinal of *Narbonne*, who was commiſſioned by the King of *France*, to adviſe his Holineſs to defer his Undertaking againſt *Bologna* till a more proper Juncture offered, and to make his Majeſty's Excuſes, who, tho' deſirous of ſending him Aſſiſtance, could not, at preſent, think of leſſening his

his Forces in the *Milaneſe*, on account of the Jealouſies he entertained of the Motions of the King of the *Romans*. A. D. 1506.

*Julius* was greatly chagrined at ſuch a Meſſage, yet, without altering his Reſolution, ſet about levying Men, and making all manner of warlike Preparations. Thoſe, however, who conſidered the Difficulty of the Enterprize, and knew that the Pope was not of an implacable Temper, where he was truſted, were of Opinion, that if *Bentivoglio*, who by Ambaſſadors had already offered to ſend him all his Four Sons, could but have prevailed on himſelf to wait on his Holineſs in Perſon, after the Example of *Gianpagolo*, he might have obtained tolerable Conditions. But whilſt he was unreſolved, or, as ſome will have it, was kept in Suſpenſe by the Diſſuaſions of his Wife, he received Advice that the King of *France* had ordered *Chaumont* to march in Perſon with Five Hundred Lances to the Pope's Aſſiſtance. For tho' the King, during the Cardinal of *Rouen*'s Abſence from Court, was inclined not to ſend them, yet that Prelate, on his Return, adviſed him

A. D. 1506.

him to the contrary, and having made him ſenſible how highly provoking and injurious it muſt be to the Pope to deny him what he had not only promiſed, but even preſſed him to accept of, he altered his Reſolution. *Lewis* was now alſo the more encouraged to gratify the Pope, becauſe *Maximilian*, according to Cuſtom, began to grow cool in his Motions. The Pope, to make the King ſome Amends, was pleaſed to promiſe him, tho' not in Writing, but by bare Word of Mouth, that he would never fall out with the *Venetians* on account of the Towns they held in *Romagna*. To ſhew, however, that the Deſire of recovering thoſe Towns was fixed in his Mind, when he continued his Progreſs from *Perugia* to *Ceſena*, he took the Way of the Mountains, avoiding the direct Road by the Plains, becauſe it would have carried him thro' *Rimini*, which was detained from him by the *Venetians*. While he was at *Ceſena* he iſſued out a public Admonition to *Bentivoglio*, ordering him, under Penalty of the moſt grievous Cenſures, with Pains ſpiritual and temporal, to depart out of *Bologna*;

*Lewis* prevailed on to ſend Succours to the Pope.

*Bologna*; which Cenſures were to extend to all his Adherents, and to thoſe who ſhould hold any Correſpondence with him. A. D. 1506.

AT *Ceſena* *Julius* received the News of *Chaumont*'s March with Six Hundred Lances and Three Thouſand Foot, which were to be paid by the Apoſtolical Chamber. On this he was much revived, and ſet forward without Delay; but to avoid the Territory of *Faenza*, for the ſame Reaſon he had avoided *Rimini*, he took the Way of the Mountains, tho' difficult and incommodious, through thoſe Towns beyond the *Apennines* that belong to the *Florentines*, and got to *Imola*, the Place appointed for the Rendezvous of his Army; which, beſides a good Body of Infantry, conſiſted of Four Hundred Men at Arms in his own Pay, One Hundred and Fifty brought by *Baglione*, One Hundred more ſent by the *Florentines* under *Marco Antonio Colonna*, and One Hundred by the Duke of *Ferrara*, beſides a Number of *Stradiotti*, raiſed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and Two Hundred light Horſe brought

*Julius* marches towards *Bologna*.

A. D. 1506. by the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who was declared Lieutenant-General of the Army.

On the other hand, the *Bentivogli* had made extraordinary Preparations in *Bologna*, in hopes that if the *French* would not defend them, they would, at leaſt, not act offenſively againſt them. For on their applying to the King for Succour, as Perſons under his Protection, they received in anſwer, That his Majeſty could not allow himſelf to oppoſe the Pope's Undertaking by Force of Arms, but would take Care not to aſſiſt him with Men or warlike Stores; and they imagined they were ſtrong enough to defend themſelves againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Army. But they were deprived of all their Hopes at once by the Arrival of *Chaumont*, who, tho' he had given different Anſwers to their Deputies, while he was on his March, yet after his Arrival at *Caſtel Franco* in the *Bologneſe*, which was the ſame Day that the Marquis of *Mantoua* took poſſeſſion of *Caſtel San Piero*, he ſent a Meſſage to *Giovanni Bentivoglio* to acquaint him, that the King his Maſter, intending punctually

punctually to fulfil all Engagements which he had contracted, by taking his Family into the Royal Protection, would take care they ſhould enjoy their Eſtates, and if, within Three Days, he gave up the Government of *Bologna* into the Hands of the Church, and received the Pope's Commands with due Obedience, he might enjoy all that he poſſeſſed, and have Liberty, with his Children, to reſide in *Bologna*. At this Meſſage, *Bentivoglio* and his Sons, who had publickly boaſted and threatened, that they would ſtand upon their Defence, were dejected and loſt their Spirits, and, quite forgetful of the Reproaches they had caſt on *Piero de' Medici* for quitting *Florence* without drawing Blood, humbly anſwered, That they were willing to refer their Cauſe to his Arbitration, begging that he would be their Mediator, for procuring them at leaſt ſome tolerable Conditions.

A. D. 1506.

*Chaumont* inſiſts on the *Bentivoglio*'s giving up the Government.

CHAUMONT, who was advanced as far as the Bridge of *Reno*, Three Miles from *Bologna*, undertook to intercede with the Pope, and obtained "That

*Chaumont* makes a Treaty with the Pope for the *Bentivoglio*.

A. D. 1506. *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, with his Wife *Ginevra Sforza*, and their Children, might ſafely retire from *Bologna*, and ſettle in any Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*: That they ſhould have the Liberty to ſell or carry with them all their Moveables, and enjoy the Income of all the Eſtates to which they had a juſt Title". As ſoon as this Treaty was concluded, the *Bentivogli* quitted *Bologna*, and on their paying Twelve Thouſand Ducats to *Chaumont*, he gave them an ample Paſs, with a Paper in his own Hand Writing, in which he obliged himſelf to render effectual as much as was contained in the King's Protection, and promiſed them a ſafe Habitation in the State of *Milan*.

The *Bentivogli* quit *Bologna*. As ſoon as the *Bentivogli* were departed the People of *Bologna* ſent Deputies to the Pope, with a voluntary Surrender of their City, deſiring only an Abſolution from the Cenſures they had incurred, and that the *French* might not be permitted to enter the Town. But thoſe Troops, unwilling to be tied by Articles, had advanced to the Walls, and were forcing an

an Entrance, but meeting with Reſiſtance from the People, they took up their Lodgings between the Two Gates of *San Felice* and *Saragozza*, on the Canal formed by the *Reno*, which paſſing through *Bologna* is navigable towards *Ferrara*. The *French* were not appriſed that the *Bologneſe* had it in their Power, by opening a Sluice, at the Place where the Canal enters the City, to lay the Country under Water; this being done, the *French* found themſelves obliged to diſlodge, and leave behind great Part of their Carriages, and their Artillery, which had ſunk deep in the Mud, and retired in great Diſorder to the Bridge on the *Reno*, where they tarried till the Pope made his Entry into *Bologna*, which was performed on *St. Martin's* Day with great Pomp, and attended with all the pontifical Ceremonies obſerved on the like Occaſions. A. D. 1506.

IN this manner the City of *Bologna*, to the unſpeakable Happineſs of thoſe People, returned once more under the Dominion of the Church: A City, for the Number of its Inhabitants, for the

A. D. 1506. Fertility of its Territory, and for the Happineſs of its Situation, juſtly ranked amongſt the moſt celebrated Cities of *Italy*. Though the Pope, in ſettling the Government of *Bologna*, having conſtituted new Magiſtrates according to the Model of the old Eſtabliſhment, had preſerved, in many Caſes, ſome Shew and Appearance of Liberty, yet, in effect, he brought all Things in Subjection to the Holy See. He was, however, wonderfully liberal in granting Exemptions, which was his Practice in all the other Cities, in which his Deſign was to make the People fond of the Government of the Church.

CHAUMONT, after this, returned immediately into the Dutchy of *Milan*, having firſt received a Preſent from the Pope of Three Thouſand Ducats for himſelf, and Ten Thouſand for the Troops under his Command; and alſo a Bull, confirming the Promiſe before made, of advancing the Biſhop of *Albi* his Brother to the Purple. But as *Julius* was fully bent on attacking the *Venetians*, he refuſed,

fuſed, for the preſent, to declare Cardinals the Biſhops of *Aus* and *Bayeux*, tho' he was much preſſed to it, and had granted his Briefs for that Purpoſe; by delaying their Promotion, he deſigned to quicken the King and the Cardinal of *Rouen*, and make them more ready to ſend him Supplies. *A. D.* 1506.

THE King of *Aragon*, about this time, began his Voyage for *Italy*. Before he embarked at *Barcelona*, he received an Expreſs from the Great Captain with Profeſſions of his Loyalty, and Readineſs to receive his Majeſty, and to pay him Homage; on which the King not only confirmed him in the Dukedom of *St. Angelo*, which had been granted him by *Federigo*, but alſo in the Poſſeſſion of all the Eſtates he had acquired in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the yearly Value of above Twenty Thouſand Ducats, and, beſides continuing him in the Poſt of Great Conſtable of that Kingdom, gave him under his Hand a Promiſe of the Grandmaſterſhip of *St. Jago*,

A. D. 1506.

THE King, with his Queen, now embarked with more Satisfaction. Great Honours were paid them, by order of the King of *France*, in all the Ports of *Provence*; and at *Genoa*, where they landed, they were received with all the Profeſſions of Eſteem and Reſpect. Here *Ferdinando* was met by the Great Captain, to the Surprize of all the World; for it was the Opinion, not only of the Vulgar, but even of the Pope, that *Gonſalvo*, conſcious of his former Diſobedience, and of the Suſpicions, which the King, perhaps not without Reaſon, had entertained againſt him, would not have ventured to appear in his Preſence, but would have privately retired into *Spain*. *

AFTER leaving *Genoa*, the King did not care to venture far out at Sea with his light Gallies, but kept near the Shore, and was detained by contrary Winds for ſeveral Days in *Portofino*, where he received the News of the Death of King *Philip*,

* *Giovio* ſays that the Great Captain met his Majeſty after he had paſſed Cape *Miſeno*.

*Philip*, his Son-in-law; a remarkable Inſtance of the Inſtability of Fortune, for he was a Prince of a very ſound and robuſt Conſtitution, in the Flower of his Age, and at the Height of Felicity, yet, after a few Days Illneſs of a violent Fever in the City of *Burgos*, he was taken off. Many were of Opinion, that the Catholic King would inſtantly ſail to *Barcelona*, in order to reſume the Government of *Caſtile*; but he proſecuted his firſt intended Voyage, and landed at *Gaeta* on the ſame Day that the Pope, in his Way to *Bologna*, made his Entrance into *Imola*. From *Gaeta* he was conducted to *Naples*, where the People, who were accuſtomed to the Sight of *Aragonian* Kings, received him with the greateſt Magnificence and Honours, their Deſires and Expectations being raiſed to the greateſt Height; every one flattering himſelf, that through the Aſſiſtance of a King ſo glorious for the Number of Victories he had obtained over *Turks* as well as Chriſtians, ſo venerable for his Prudence, for which he was renowned all the World over, a Prince who had governed his Kingdoms with ſo much Juſtice and

A. D. 1506.

A. D. 1506. and Tranquillity, the Kingdom of *Naples*, after ſo many Troubles and Oppreſſions, would be reduced to a peaceable and happy State, and that he would procure the Reſtoration of thoſe Maritime Towns, that, to the great Uneaſineſs of the whole Kingdom, were detained by the *Venetians*.

THERE appeared ſoon in *Naples* a Concourſe of Ambaſſadors from all Parts of *Italy*, not only to congratulate and pay their Reſpects to ſo great a Prince, but alſo to conſult him on Matters of State, each perſuading himſelf, that with his Prudence and Authority, a Multitude of Diſputes would be reduced into a proper Form and Order, and left to his Deciſion. The Pope, tho' diſſatisfied with *Ferdinando* for not ſending Ambaſſadors to pay him Homage, according to Cuſtom, endeavoured to incenſe him againſt the *Venetians*, in hopes that his Deſire of recovering the Ports they poſſeſſed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, might incline him to contribute to their Depreſſion. The *Venetians* themſelves were extremely

ſollicitous to have him for their Friend. The *Florentines*, and the other States of *Tuſcany* ſent to treat with him, but each with different Views, concerning the Affairs of *Piſa*. A. D. 1506.

THE *Piſans* were leſs moleſted this Year than uſual, for the *Florentines* let them get in their Harveſt undiſturbed, either becauſe they were tired with the Expence, or becauſe they were taught, by the Experience of former Years, that ſuch an Attempt would be ineffectual, ſince they knew that the *Genoeſe* and *Lucchеſe* had agreed together to contribute a certain Sum towards the Support of that City for a Twelvemonth. The firſt Promoter of that Agreement was *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who engaged that the *Seneſe* ſhould pay their Proportion. But, on the other hand, with his uſual Double-dealing, he revealed the Particulars of this Negotiation to the *Florentines*, and promiſing to ſeparate himſelf from the reſt, obtained of them a Prolongation of the Truce, which was not yet expired, with the *Seneſe* for Three Years; but with an expreſs

*A. D.* 1506. expreſs Condition, that neither *Pandolfo* nor the *Seneſe* ſhould in any manner aſſiſt the *Piſans*. This ſerved to excuſe him from laying out any Money for them, tho' in other Matters he was never wanting to aſſiſt them with his Advice and Encouragement to the utmoſt of his Power.

Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*.

THE barbarous and inhuman Fact committed the End of the laſt Year at *Ferrara*, was now ſucceeded by another equally horrid. *Ferdinando*, Brother of Duke *Alfonſo*, and *Giulio*, who, at the Inſtigation of the Cardinal, had his Eyes turned out of their Places, but by the immediate and careful Attendance of ſkilful Surgeons, had them replaced without loſing his Sight, entered into a Plot againſt the Life of the Duke. *Ferdinando*, being next in the Succeſſion, aimed at getting poſſeſſion of the Dutchy, and *Giulio* imagined that *Alfonſo* had not ſufficiently reſented the Injury done him, and that he had no other Means to revenge himſelf of the Cardinal. Count *Albertino Boſchetto*, a Nobleman of *Modena*,

*dena*, was an Accomplice in the Conſpiracy, and as they had corrupted ſome mean Fellows, who conſtantly attended *Alfonſo* in order to miniſter to his Pleaſures, they had many a fair Opportunity of diſpatching him with Eaſe. But, thro' a fatal Timidity, they always let ſlip the Occaſion, and, as it almoſt conſtantly happens when the Execution of a Conſpiracy is delayed, the Plot came to light; and *Ferdinando* and the other Conſpirators were impriſoned. *Giulio*, at the Diſcovery, fled to *Mantoua* to his Siſter, from whence he was, by Order of the Marquis, ſent Priſoner to *Alfonſo*, who firſt paſſed his Word that his Life ſhould be ſaved. Count *Albertino* and the other Criminals were quartered, and the Brothers condemned to perpetual Impriſonment in the new Caſtle of *Ferrara*. *

A. D. 1506.

We ought not to paſs over in Silence the Induſtry and Reſolution of *Valentino*, who, about this Time, found Means to ſlide

* *Giulio* continued in Priſon all the Time of *Alfonſo* and of *Ercole* IV, but was releaſed by *Alfonſo* II, and lived to the Year 1560.

*A. D.* 1506. ſlide down by a Rope from the Caſtle of *Medina del Campo*, and fled into the Kingdom of *Navarra*, to King *John*, his Wife's Brother; where, that we may have no further Occaſion to mention him, he remained ſome Years in a mean Condition, becauſe the King of *France* had before confiſcated the Dutchy of *Valentinois*, and ſtopt his Penſion of Twenty Thouſand Franks, which he had aſſigned him in lieu of the Revenue of that Dutchy, and would not ſuffer him to come into *France*, that he might not diſoblige the King of *Aragon*. At laſt, attending the Troops of the King of *Navarra* at the Siege of *Viana*, an obſcure Caſtle in that Kingdom, in a Skirmiſh with the Enemy, who broke out of an Ambuſh, he was killed by a Blow from a Genneteer.

*Valentino* killed.

*Genoa* revolts from the *French*

AT the End of this Year, that the new one might not begin without ſome Materials for new Wars, the *Genoeſe* revolted from their Obedience to the King of *France*, to which they were prompted by none but themſelves, nor had their Deſire

Deſire of Rebellion any other Foundation than what took its Riſe from their civil Broils, which tranſported them much beyond what they had at firſt determined. *A. D.* 1506.

GENOA is a City built in a proper Situation for the Command of the Sea, if ſo vaſt a Conveniency were not rendered uſeleſs by the contagious Influence of civil Diſcord. It is not, like many other Cities of *Italy*, ſubject only to one Diviſion, but is divided into ſeveral Parties; for there are yet ſome Reliques of the old Contentions between the *Guelfs* and the *Ghibellines*. The Diſcord between the Nobles and Commonalty, under which many Cities in *Italy*, and particularly in *Tuſcany*, have ſeverely ſuffered, is at its Height in *Genoa*. For the common People, being by no means willing to ſupport the Pride of the Nobles, have reſtrained their Power by many very ſevere and rigorous Laws; among the reſt is one that, leaving them a proportionable Share in almoſt all other Magiſtracies and Honours, exclude them particularly from the Dignity of Doge. That Office, which Factions in *Genoa*.

is

A. D. 1506. is ſupreme above all others, is granted to the Perſon elected for Life; but, thro' the Inconſtancy of the Citizens, not one, perhaps, or very few, at leaſt, have been permitted to enjoy that Place of Honour till Death. But there is another Diviſion, no leſs powerful, between the *Adorni* and *Fregoſi*, who, from popular Families, became *Cappellacci* (ſo the *Genoeſe* call thoſe who have raiſed themſelves to a Pitch of Grandeur) and contend together for the Dignity of Doge, which has for many Years continued almoſt without Interruption in one or other of the Two Families *. For the Nobles of the *Guelf* and *Ghibelline* Factions, being prohibited by the Laws from obtaining that high Poſt for themſelves, have endeavoured to get it conferred on Commons of their own Party; and the *Ghibellines* favouring the *Adorni*, and the *Guelfs* the *Fregoſi*, they have, in proceſs of Time, made theſe Two Houſes more illuſtrious and more powerful than that

* Theſe Families were called *Cappellacci*, but the Vulgar and Mechanics, who raiſed this Commotion, were called *Coppette*, becauſe they were poor, and wore a ſhabby Cap. Biſhop of *Nubbio*.

that Two, whoſe Name and Authority they formerly uſed to follow; and theſe Diviſions cauſed ſuch Confuſion, that frequently thoſe who ſided together againſt an oppoſite Party, fell into various Parties among themſelves; and, on the contrary, united in ſome Points with their own Party, and in others with the oppoſite. But in the Beginning of this Year great Diſputes aroſe between the Nobleſs and the Commonalty, on occaſion of the Inſolence of ſome of the Nobles; and generally meeting with evil diſpoſed Minds on both Sides, private Contentions were ſoon converted into public Diſcord, which is the more eaſy to be kindled in a City, ſuch as *Genoa* was at that time, vaſtly abounding in Riches. The Feuds and Animoſities grew to ſuch a Height, that the Populace made a Riot, and ran to Arms, killed one of the Family of *Doria*, and wounded ſome of the Nobles; and obtained, more by Violence than by the Free Will of the Citizens, that in the public Councils, at which very few of the Nobility were preſent, it ſhould be enacted the next Day, that the Places of

*A. D.* 1506.

Inſurrection in that City.

A. D. 1506. Truſt, which before were equally divided between the Nobleſs and Commonalty, ſhould, for the future, be conferred in the Proportion of two Thirds on the Commons, and the remaining Third on the Nobles. To this Reſolution *Roccalbertino*, who was appointed to take the Charge of the City in the Abſence of *Philip de Raveſtein*, Governor for the King, gave his Conſent, for fear of greater Miſchiefs in caſe of Refuſal. The People, however, were not quieted with this Conceſſion, but in a few Days broke out into freſh Diſorders, and plundered the Houſes of the Noblemen, for which Reaſon the greateſt Part of the Nobility, not thinking themſelves ſecure in their own Country, withdrew from *Genoa*. On Advice of theſe Innovations, the Governor ſpeedily returned from *France* to *Genoa*, with One Hundred and Fifty Horſe and Seven Hundred Foot; but found himſelf unable, either by Authority, or by Perſuaſions, or even by Force, to rectify, in any meaſure, the Diſorders; on the contrary, he was often obliged to comply with the Inclinations of the People, as when he ordered

ordered another Party of Troops that was on their Way to join him, to march back. D. A. 1506.

FROM theſe Beginnings the Multitude continually grew more and more inſolent, and the ruling Part, as it uſually happens in tumultuous Cities, had, contrary to the Will of many of the better ſort of the popular Party, fallen almoſt entirely into the Hands of the Dregs of the common People. They proceeded in the Height of their Madneſs to erect of themſelves a new Magiſtracy of Eight Commons, who were inveſted with a very extenſive Authority, and, that the Name might make them more outrageous, were called the Tribunes of the People. This done, they ſent Troops to take poſſeſſion of *Spetie*, and other Towns in the Eaſtern *Riviera*, of which *Gian Luigi dal Fieſco* had been appointed Governor by the King of *France* *.



* This Magiſtracy, or Tribunes of the Commons, as they called themſelves, ſent for *Tarlatino* from *Piſa*, and gave him the Command of Two Thouſand Men. Biſhop of *Nebbio*.

*A. D.* 1506.

COMPLAINTS of theſe Inſolences were made to the King by *Gian Luigi* in the Name of the whole Nobility, and alſo for his own proper Intereſt; repreſenting to his Majeſty the manifeſt Danger of loſing the Dominion of *Genoa*, ſince the Multitude was become ſo audacious that, beſides all other Miſchiefs, they had proceeded, in direct Oppoſition to the royal Authority, to ſeize on the Towns of the *Riviera*; that it was eaſy, by ſpeedily applying proper Remedies, to repreſs ſo great a Madneſs, while there was, as yet, no Fewel to maintain the Flame, nor preſent Expectation of Supplies from any Quarter: But, by delaying to provide againſt its Increaſe, the Evil would every Day take deeper Root. For *Genoa* was a Place of ſuch Importance both by Sea and Land, as eaſily to invite ſome Potentate or other to augment a Flame ſo likely to be deſtructive to his Majeſty's State; and that the common People being conſcious to themſelves, that what at firſt had been perhaps only Sedition, had been ſince ripened into downright Rebellion, would

The Nobles of *Genoa* apply to the King of *France*.

would join with any Power from whom they could find Hopes of Protection. *A. D.* 1506.

Commons plead their Cauſe.

ON the other ſide, the Ambaſſadors from the People of *Genoa* did their beſt to juſtify their Cauſe. They repreſented to his Majeſty, that the People had no other Provocation but the Pride of the Nobles, who, not content with the Honours they were intitled to by their Quality, expected to be reverenced as Sovereigns; that the People had long ſubmitted to their Inſolences, but when they came to be at laſt injured, not only in their Eſtates, but in their Perſons, they could no longer contain themſelves; that they had not, however, taken any further Steps than what were abſolutely neceſſary for the Security of their Liberty; for whilſt the Nobles had an equal Share in Offices, the People were diſabled, by means of the Magiſtrates and Courts of Juſtice, to reſiſt their Tyranny; that while *Gian Luigi* kept poſſeſſion of the Towns of the *Riviera*, without communicating with which *Genoa* was in a manner beſieged, it was not ſafe for the People to

A. D. 1506. have any Commerce or Intercourſe with thoſe Towns. The People had been always devoted and faithful to his royal Majeſty, and all the Innovations in *Genoa* had ever proceeded more from the Nobles than from the People; that they ſupplicated his Majeſty to pardon thoſe Offences and Misdemeanours which, contrary to univerſal Approbation, had, in the Ardour of Contention, been committed by any particular Perſons; that he would vouchſafe to confirm the Laws which they had made concerning the Diſtribution of Offices, and to order that the Governors of the Towns in the *Riviera* might be appointed by the Republic. Thus would the Nobles enjoy their Rights and Dignities with the Honours due to them, and the Commons live in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Liberties with all convenient Security; by which Means none would ſuffer any Injury, but all finding themſelves reduced, by Virtue of his Authority, into ſuch a happy State of Tranquility, would forever adore his royal Clemency, Goodneſs and Juſtice.

A. D. 1506.

THE King was much concerned at theſe tumultuous Diſorders, either becauſe he was apprehenſive of the Licentiouſneſs of the Multitude, or becauſe of the general Affection of the *French* even to the Name of Nobleman; and therefore he was diſpoſed to puniſh the Authors of theſe Inſolences, and to reduce all things to their antient State. But fearing that, if he uſed rough Means, the *Genoeſe* would have recourſe to *Ceſar*, of whom his Son *Philip* being then living, he ſtood much in Awe, for this Reaſon he determined to proceed in a gentle Manner, and pardoned all Offences, confirmed the new Law concerning Offices, inſiſting only on reſuming into his Hands the Towns the People had ſeized in the *Riviera*. And, the more eaſily to diſpoſe them to be ſatisfied with theſe Conceſſions, he deputed to *Genoa* Doctor *Michele Riccio*, a *Neapolitan* Exile, to exhort the Populace to make uſe of this Opportunity of ſhewing themſelves worthy of the royal Favour, and not, by perſevering in their Contumacy and Tranſgreſſions, lay the King under a

King deals gently with the Populace.

A. D. 1506. Neceſſity of proceeding againſt them with the Severity of abſolute Command.

His Offers ſlighted.

As in Minds blinded by immoderate Deſires, Raſhneſs leaves Prudence no Share in the Management of Affairs, ſo in the Caſe before us, the common People and their Tribunes, (tho' the lawful Magiſtrates were of contrary Sentiments) not only refuſed the kind Offers of the King, by keeping poſſeſſion of the Towns they had ſeized, but proceeded continually to worſe Provocations, and took a Reſolution to make themſelves Maſters of *Monaco*, a Caſtle in the Poſſeſſion of *Luciano Grimaldo*. What incited them to this Undertaking, was either the Malice they bore to all Nobles in general, or becauſe by its commodious Situation, as a Sea-port, it was a Place of Importance to the Affairs of *Genoa*; or the true Motive might be merely private Reſentment, as it is well known that he who is in poſſeſſion of that Town, being tempted by the Conveniency of its Situation, can hardly abſtain from exerciſing himſelf in Piracy *; or, in the laſt Place, be-

* By which *Grimaldi* might have given Offence to many.

becauſe *Monaco*, as they ſaid, was within the Juriſdiction of the Republic. A good Body of Forces, therefore, was ordered, the Governor in vain proteſting againſt it, to beſiege the Place both by Land and Sea. The Governor then, *Philip de Ravenſtein*, finding that his Stay in *Genoa* could be of no Service, and might poſſibly, on account of Accidents that were like to happen, prove dangerous, left that City, appointing *Roccalbertino* to ſupply his Place. *A. D.* 1506. *Genoeſe* beſiege *Monaco*.

THE King had loſt all Hopes of reducing Matters into better Order, and not thinking it conſiſtent with his Dignity or Safety to ſuffer theſe People to remain in their preſent Situation, and apprehending that the Danger would be greater, if they were left to run on to greater Extravagances, he began to make Preparations both by Sea and Land for reducing them to his Obedience. This Reſolution was the Cauſe of interrupting the Treaty that was in Negotiation between his Majeſty and the Pope againſt the *Venetians*, which *Lewis* greatly deſired to have concluded, eſpecially now that by the Death of King *Philip*, *King of France* makes Preparations againſt the *Genoeſe*.

A. D. 1506. *Philip*, he was freed from the Umbrage he had taken at the Preparations of the Emperor. But the Pope was more ardently deſirous to finiſh this Treaty, becauſe he was highly provoked againſt the *Venetians*, for keeping in their Poſſeſſion the Towns of *Romagna*, and for preſuming to confer the vacant Biſhopricks in their Dominions, without any Regard to the Apoſtolic See, and for interfering in many things appertaining to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. Hence being determined to cultivate the Friendſhip of the King of *France*, beſides declaring Cardinals the Biſhops of *Bayeux* and *Aus*, a Favour ſo long preſſed for by the King, he ſollicited his Majeſty to paſs into *Italy*, and to come to an Interview with him. To this the King had conſented; but when the Pope was certified of *Lewis*'s Reſolution to take up Arms in favour of the *Genoeſe* Nobility againſt the People, he was ſadly mortified, and altered his Reſolution, becauſe he was of old by Nature averſe to Noblemen, and favourable to the common People. He interceded, therefore, with the King, that he would content himſelf with reducing *Genoa*

to

to his Obedience, without making any Alterations in the popular Government of that City; and he exhorted him with great Earneſtneſs to abſtain from Arms, offering many Reaſons, and eſpecially the Danger of raiſing, by this unſeaſonable Step, a new Combuſtion in *Italy*, which might diſturb the Preparations for the War deſigned againſt the *Venetians*. But finding that the King was not convinced by theſe Reaſons, in a Tranſport of Anger or Grief, or his old Jealouſies of the ambitious Deſires of the Cardinal of *Amboiſe*, either by his own Impulſe, or by the ſubtle Artifices of others, reviving in his Mind, he was ſeized with a Suſpicion that the King would detain him if they ſhould meet together in the ſame Place; or perhaps both of theſe Cauſes concurring, all on a ſudden he declared, in the Beginning of the Year 1507, contrary to Expectation, his Intention of returning to *Rome*; for which he gave no other Reaſon, but that the Air of *Bologna* was prejudicial to his Health, and that by his Abſence from *Rome* his Finances were conſiderably diſordered. A. D. 1506. 1507.

THIS

*A. D.* 1507. THIS Reſolution of his Holineſs was very ſurpriſing to all, and eſpecially to the King, that without any Reaſon he ſhould leave unfiniſhed a Negotiation which he had deſired, and decline an Interview, which he himſelf had ſollicited. His Majeſty being much diſturbed at this Step of the Pope, he left no Means untried which might induce him to alter his Reſolution; but his Labour was not only vain, but hurtful; for the Pontiff took occaſion, from the Inſtances which the King made him, to be more ſuſpicious, and was the more confirmed in his Reſolution, to which pertinaciouſly adhering, he ſet out from *Bologna* at the End of *February*, not being able to diſſemble the Anger which he had conceived againſt the King. Before he left the City, he laid the firſt Stone of the Fortreſs, which he, with unlucky Auſpices, ordered to be erected near the Gate of *Galera*, in the ſame Place where, at another time, with the ſame Auſpices, there had been one built by *Filippo Maria Viſconti* of *Milan*. His new Diſpleaſure with the King of *France* had

Pope returns from *Bologna* to *Rome*.

had ſomewhat mitigated his old Spleen againſt the *Venetians*, and therefore, not chuſing to incommode himſelf by going out of the Way, he took the direct Road, and paſſed through the City of *Faenza*. New Diſputes now aroſe between the Pope and the King every Day; for his Holineſs made Inſtances for the Expulſion of the *Bentivogli* from the State of *Milan*, tho' it was with his Conſent that they had been allowed to inhabit there, and refuſed to reſtore the Prothonotary, Son of *Giovanni*, to the Poſſeſſion of his Churches, as he had promiſed in his Agreement; ſo much did a Spirit of Contention prevail in him againſt Reaſon! A. D. 1507.

THE King took no care to mollify this Diſpoſition of the Pope by ſoothing Arts and dextrous Management, but quite provoked at ſuch a Fickleneſs of Temper, and ſuſpecting, as the Truth was, that his Holineſs ſecretly encouraged the People of *Genoa*, he could not abſtain from openly threatening him, and upbraiding him, in reproachful Terms, with his low Birth. For it was well known that the Pope

A. D. 1507. Pope was of very mean Extraction, and educated many Years in a very low Station of Life. The King was now, therefore, the more confirmed in his firſt Reſolution concerning the Affairs of *Genoa*, and made Preparations with the utmoſt Diligence, for leading an Army in Perſon againſt that City; for he had learned, by Experience of what had happened in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Difference between conducting a War in proper Perſon, and entruſting the ſame to the Management of Generals.

*Piſans aſſiſt the Genoeſe.*

THE *Genoeſe* were not at all alarmed at theſe Preparations, being intent on getting poſſeſſion of *Monaco*, on which Enterprize they employed abundance of Shipping, and Six Thouſand Men, common People and Peaſants, levied in Haſte, and put under the Command of *Tarlatino*, General of the *Piſans*, who, with *Piero Gumbucortà*, and ſome other Soldiers, had been ſent by that People to the Aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe*.

THE Diſorders ſtill increaſing in *Genoa*,

*Genoa*, the Governor of the *Caſtelletto*, who had hitherto remained very quiet, and had not been diſturbed by the People, either by the King's Commandment, or with a Deſire of Plunder, broke out all on a ſudden, and ſeized and committed to Priſon many of the People, and began to play his Cannon upon the Port and the City; which ſo terrified *Roccalbertino* that he left the Place, and the *French* that guarded the Town-houſe retired into the *Caſtelletto*. Soon after the Siege of *Monaco*, which had laſted ſeveral Months, was raiſed; for the Beſiegers having advice of the Approach of *Alegre*, with the chief of their Nobles, and Three Thouſand Foot they had levied, and of ſome Auxiliaries from the Duke of *Savoy*, with a Deſign to relieve the Place, had not the Courage to wait their Arrival, but decamped in all Haſte, ſpreading a Report that the King's Forces were continually pouring into *Lombardy*, and preparing to fall upon them. This News, which ſhould have put the Ringleaders upon taking Meaſures ſuitable to ſo urgent an Occaſion, ſerved only to encreaſe their Rage.

*A. D.* 1507.

Siege of *Monaco* raiſed.

A. D. 1507. Rage. The Multitude, which had hitherto diſſembled their Rebellion in Words, and juſtified their Actions by crying up, on all Occaſions, the Name of the King of *France*, whoſe Enſigns were ſtill to be ſeen in the public Places, now created for their Doge one *Pagolo di Nove*, a Silk-Dyer, of the loweſt of the Commonalty; in which Tranſaction they diſcovered manifeſt Signs of a Rebellion; for the Creation of this Doge was accompanied with a Declaration, that the City of *Genoa* was not ſubject to any Potentate whomſoever.

*Genoeſe* create a new Doge

THESE audacious Proceedings of the Populace highly provoked the King, and the Nobility having ſignified to his Majeſty, that his Enſigns were removed in order to give Place to thoſe of *Cæſar*, he ordered his Preparations to be increaſed; and he was the more incenſed, becauſe *Maximilian*, at the Sollicitations of the *Genoeſe*, and perhaps ſecretly of the Pope, had adviſed him to undertake nothing againſt *Genoa*, as being an Imperial City, offering his Mediation with the People,

People, in order to induce them to comply with ſuch Terms as Juſtice required. *A. D.* 1507.

The new Doge and the Tribunes were not a little emboldened by their proſperous Succeſs in the Eaſtern *Riviera*. For *Girolaino*, the Son of *Gian Luigi dal Fieſco*, at the Head of Two Thouſand Foot, and ſome Horſe, having recovered *Rapalle*, and marched by Night to ſurprize *Recco*, was encountered by ſome Troops that were marching from *Genoa* to ſuccour the Place, and, without coming to a formal Engagement, put to a diſorderly Flight; which being diſcerned by *Orlandino*, Nephew of *Gian Luigi*, who had made a Deſcent at *Recco* with another Body of Forces, he in like manner betook himſelf to Flight. Hence the Doge and the Tribunes growing more inſolent, attacked *Caſtellaccio*, an old Fortreſs ſituated in the Mountains above *Genoa*, raiſed by the Lords of *Milan* while they had the Dominion of that City, and ſerved to protect the Troops in their Acceſs to *Genoa*, when thoſe Lords ſent any from *Lombardy* to relieve the *Caſtelletto*. This Place having but a ſmall Garriſon, was

A. D. 1507. eaſily taken, for the few *French* that were in it ſurrendered on Condition of ſaving their Lives and Effects. But the Beſiegers immediately broke their Word, and returned to *Genoa* with great Alacrity, boaſting of their Exploit, and ſhewing their bloody Hands. At the ſame time they began to batter the *Caſtelletto*, and the Church of *San Franceſco* contiguous to it.

BUT the King of *France* was by this time paſſed into *Italy*, and his Troops were continually aſſembling from all Parts in order to form the Siege of *Genoa* as ſoon as poſſible. The *Genoeſe* now found themſelves abandoned of all Succours; for the Catholic King, tho' deſirous of their Succeſs, would not fall out with the King of *France*, but even furniſhed him with Four light Gallies. The Pope durſt not ſhew his Mind, but by adminiſtering Hopes and Admonitions in private; for he had no Troops but Three Hundred foreign Foot, and no experienced Officers, and was in want of military Stores. The *Genoeſe*, however, perſiſted

in

in their Obſtinacy, confiding in the narrow Paſſes, and in the Difficulties and Ruggedneſs of their Country, by which they imagined it was eaſy for them to prevent the Approach of an Enemy to *Genoa*. Under the Influence of this vain Confidence, they deſpiſed the Admonitions of many of their Friends, in particular of the Cardinal of *Finale*, who attended the King, and exhorted them, by frequent Meſſages and Letters, to ſubmit themſelves to his Majeſty's Will, giving them Hopes of readily obtaining a Pardon, and tolerable Conditions. But the *French* Army being now on its March by the Way of *Borgo de' Fornari* and *Serravalle*, the Vanity of their Deſigns began to diſcover itſelf. No Councils were held, nor Plans drawn, as there ſhould have been, by Men experienced in War; nothing was heard but Clamours and vain Boaſtings of a vile and ignorant Multitude. And as a Proof that the Courage of ſuch Men, when Danger is preſent, is no way correſpondent to what they had raſhly promiſed when Fear was far off, Six Hundred of their Infantry, poſted to guard

A. D. 1507.

Obſtinacy and Cowardice of the *Genoeſe*.

A. D. 1507. the firſt Paſſes, at the Approach of the Enemy baſely deſerted their Poſt, and betook themſelves to Flight. Their cowardly Example was followed by the reſt, who loſt all Courage, and, abandoning the Paſſes which they were appointed to defend, retired into *Genoa* *. The *French* Army finding the Paſſes free and open, continued their March, without Oppoſition, over the Chain of Mountains, and deſcended into the Valley of *Pozzevera*, Seven Miles diſtant from *Genoa*, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the *Genoeſe*, who had fooliſhly perſuaded themſelves, that the Troops durſt not be ſo fool-hardy as to take up their Quarters in a Valley, ſurrounded by rugged Mountains, and in the midſt of an Enemy's Country.

At this time the King's Fleet, conſiſting of Eight light Gallies, Eight Galeons, with a great Number of Brigantines, and other ſmall Veſſels, appeared before *Genoa*, and

* The Commander of theſe Foot, the Biſhop of *Nebbio* ſays, was *Jacopo Corſo*, Lieutenant to *Tarlatino*, a Man expert enough in War, but not feared, who began to ſkirmiſh with the *French*, but the *Genoeſe* baſely fled, and abandoned the foreign Soldiers, who did their Duty.

and ſailed towards *Porto Venere* and *Spetie*, in Chace of the *Genoeſe* Fleet of Seven Gallies and Six Barks, which not venturing to remain in the Port of *Genoa*, was retired to thoſe Places. The Army moved from the Valley of *Pozzevera* to *Rivarolo*, Two Miles from *Genoa*, and poſted itſelf near the Church of *San Piero della Rena* by the Sea-ſide, meeting in their March, at ſmall Diſtances, ſeveral Parties of *Genoeſe* Foot, who ſhewed no more Reſolution than the reſt, but retired at their Approach. The ſame Day arrived in the Army the King in Perſon, and took up his Quarters in the Abbey of *Boſchetto* over againſt the Suburb of *Rivarolo*. His Majeſty was attended by a great Part of the Nobility of *France*, a vaſt Number of Noblemen of the State of *Milan*, and the Marquis of *Mantoua*, whom his Majeſty had a few Days before declared Head of the Order of *Saint Michele*, and preſented him with the Standard, which had never been in the Poſſeſſion of any Perſon ſince the Death of *Lewis* XI. There were in the *French* Army One Thouſand Eight Hundred light Horſe, Six Thouſand

A. D. 1507.

*French* King arrives in his Army.

A. D. 1507. *Swiſs*, and Six Thouſand Foot of other Nations; but the Lances were but Eight Hundred, for the King, conſidering the Roughneſs of the Country, had left the reſt in *Lombardy*.

THE *Genoeſe*, for the Defence of the Road that goes over the Hills to *Caſtellaccio*, and from thence to *Genoa*, by a ſhorter Way than what leads along the Strand of *San Piero della Rena*, had erected a Redoubt on the Top of a Mountain called *Promontorio*, between the Suburb of *Rivarolo* and *San Piero della Rena*, from which Redoubt the Way leads along the Ridge of a Hill to *Caſtellaccio*. To this Redoubt the *French* directed their March the ſame Day they encamped at *Rivarolo*. On the other ſide, there marched out of *Genoa* Eight Thouſand Foot, commanded by *Jacopo Corſo*, Lieutenant to *Tarlatino*, for *Tarlatino* himſelf, after raiſing the Siege of *Monaco*, had taken up his Quarters, with the *Piſan* Soldiers, in *Ventimiglia*; and when they were recalled by the *Genoeſe*, who ſent the Ship of *Demetrio Giuſtiniano* to bring them off, they could not

not return to *Genoa* by Land, becauſe they would have been intercepted by the *French*, nor by Sea, becauſe of contrary Winds. As ſoon as the *French* began to aſcend the Mountain, they diſcovered the *Genoeſe* Foot, who had aſcended by the Hill that leads to the Redoubt, and afterwards the greater Part of them deſcending, had made a Stand upon a rocky Eminence, halfway up the Hill. Monſ. *Chaumont* detached a good Body of Foot, with a Number of Gentlemen, to attack them. The *Genoeſe* by their great Superiority in Number, and the Advantage of Situation, made a ſtout Defence, with conſiderable Loſs to the *French*, who, deſpiſing their Enemies, as conſiſting moſtly of raw and undiſciplined Tradeſmen and Peaſants, confidently advanced, not conſidering the Strength of the Place, to attack them. Monſ. *Paliſſe* was wounded, tho' not dangerouſly, in the Throat. But *Chaumont* reſolving to diſlodge the Enemy from their Poſt, ordered Two Pieces of Cannon to be brought up the Hill, which taking them in Flank, conſtrained them to retire towards the Mountain

A. D. 1507.

*Genoeſe* routed.

A. D. 1507. where the reſt of their Troops were poſted. The *French* advancing after them in good Order, thoſe who guarded the Redoubt, tho' from the Advantage of its Situation, and the Works that had been made, they might ſafely wait till the Cannon were planted againſt it, fearing the *French* ſhould poſt part of their Forces ſo as to cut off the Communication between them and their Troops upon the Mountain, moſt ſhamefully abandoned it. Hence thoſe who were retiring from the Eminence towards the Redoubt ſeeing their Paſſage intercepted, fled out of the beaten Road, and thro' Quagmires and over rough Precipices, made their Way into *Genoa*, loſing about ThreeHundred Men in their Retreat.

*Genoeſe ſue for Pardon.*

THIS ill Succeſs filled the whole City with inexpreſſible Terror; and the Management of public Affairs being in the Hands of the loweſt of the Commonalty, and nothing of Importance directed by military Counſel or civil Prudence, they deputed Two Ambaſſadors to the Army, in order to treat of ſurrendering themſelves upon reaſonable Terms. Theſe Ambaſſadors

were

were not admitted into the King's Presence, but had an Audience of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who anſwered them, that the King had reſolved not to accept them on any other Conditions than an abſolute Surrender of themſelves, and all that belonged to them, to his Will and Pleaſure. But while the Treaty was in Agitation, a Party of the common People, which had refuſed to come into any Agreement, marched out of *Genoa* in a tumultuous Manner, and were diſcovered on the Riſings and Hills, that leads from *Cartellaccio* to the Redoubt, which they had approached within a Quarter of a Mile, in hopes to recover it; but after ſkirmiſhing for Three Hours with the *French*, who had ſallied out and attacked them, without any Advantage on either Side, they retired towards *Caſtellaccio*. A. D. 1507.

WHILE this paſſed the King, being apprehenſive of ſome greater Commotion, was continually on Horſeback, armed, and attended by a good Body of Cavalry, in the Plain between the River *Pozzivera* and his Camp. However, the next

A. D. 1507. next Night, the Affairs of the *Genoeſe* being in a deſperate State, and a Report being ſpread that the Heads of the popular Party had ſecretly compounded with the King, even at the Time when he was at *Aſti*, and the Populace grieved to think how they had been deceived, the Doge, with many of thoſe whoſe Crimes were ſo great that they deſpaired of Pardon, and that Party of *Piſans* which had remained in the City, ſet out for *Piſa*. And the next Morning, by Break of Day, the ſame Ambaſſadors returned to the Camp, and conſented to give up the City to the King's Diſcretion, not having ſuſtained the War above Eight Days; giving us a very remarkable Example of the Weakneſs of an ignorant and confuſed Multitude, who, relying on fallacious Hopes, and vain Projects, are fierce and confident when Danger is far off, but dejected and irreſolute at its Approach, and never keep within the Bounds of Moderation.

THE Agreement being ſettled, the King with his Army approached *Genoa*; his Foot were quartered in the Suburbs, and

and could hardly be reſtrained, eſpecially the *Swiſs*, from entering the City, and plundering it. After this *Chaumont* entered the Place with moſt of the other Troops, having firſt placed a Garriſon in *Caſtellaccio*, and to him the *Genoeſe* delivered up all their Arms, both public and private, which were carried into the *Caſtelletto*, with Three Pieces of Cannon which the *Piſans* had brought with them, and which were afterwards ſent to *Milan*. The next Day, which was *April* 29, the King in Perſon made his Entry into *Genoa*, with all the Gens d'Armes and Archers of his Guard, himſelf on Foot under a Canopy, all in white Armour, with a naked Dagger in his Hand. He was met by the Elders, accompanied by many of the moſt honourable Citizens, who throwing themſelves at his Feet, and ſhedding a Flood of Tears, one of them, after Silence for ſome time, ſpoke as follows.

*A. D.* 1507.

King of *France* enters *Genoa*

" We cannot deny, moſt Chriſtian and moſt merciful Sovereign, but that in the Beginning of the Contentions with our Nobles, the greateſt part of the People

Speech made to him.

was

A. D. 1507. was concerned; but we beg leave, at the ſame time, to affirm, that the Inſolences committed, and much more the Contumacy and Diſobedience to the royal Commands, proceeded entirely from the Dregs of the loweſt of the Populace, whoſe Audaciouſneſs and Temerity neither we nor our Fellow Citizens, nor our Merchants and ſubſtantial Tradeſmen, had it in their Power to reſtrain. And therefore, whatever Puniſhment your Majeſty ſhould think fit to inflict on us, or on this City, would fall upon the Innocent, without affecting the Authors and Accomplices of thoſe Crimes and Miſdemeanours, who are a Rabble of poor, indigent Vagabonds, hardly reckoned by us in the Number of Men, much leſs of Citizens, nor do they themſelves regard this unhappy City as their Country. But our Intention, dread Sovereign, is to lay aſide all Excuſes, and to have recourſe only to the Mercy and Magnanimity of ſo great a King, in which we repoſe an entire Confidence, and moſt humbly ſupplicate your Majeſty, that, with the ſame Generoſity you were pleaſed to par-

don

don much greater Offences in the *Milaneſe*, you would vouchſafe to caſt an Eye of Pity and Compaſſion on your Subjects the *Genoeſe*, a few Months ago the moſt happy of all Mortals, and now an Example of all Miſeries. Remember, we beſeech you, with what Glory your Majeſty's Name was celebrated throughout the World for Clemency on that Occaſion, and how much more worthy of your Majeſty it will be to confirm and illuſtrate that glorious Name, by ſhewing the ſame Mercy, than to obſcure it by the Exerciſe of Cruelty. Remember, great King, that your Title of *Moſt Chriſtian* is derived from Chriſt, the merciful Redeemer of all Mankind; wherefore, in imitation of that bleſſed Pattern, it is your Duty to exerciſe, on all occaſions, that Clemency and Mercy which are ſo proper to him. Let the Tranſgreſſions be never ſo heinous; Let them be inconceivable, they cannot, however, exceed your royal Pity and Goodneſs. You, our King, are the Repreſentative of the moſt high God among us in Dignity and Power, (for what are Kings but Gods A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. Gods in regard to their Subjects?) and therefore are ſo much the more obliged to repreſent him alſo in a Conformity of Will, and of Works, of which none is ſo glorious, none ſo pleaſing, and none renders his Name ſo wonderful, as Mercy."

THIS Speech was followed by a loud and univerſal Cry for Mercy. The King went forwards without giving any Anſwer; but his commanding them to riſe from the Ground, and ſheathing his Dagger, which he had held naked in his Hand, were Signs of a Heart rather inclined to Gentleneſs. Arriving afterwards at the great Church, an infinite Number of Women and Children of both Sexes, all clothed in White, threw themſelves at his Feet, and ſupplicated his Clemency and Mercy, with loud Cries, and miſerable Complaints; at the Sight of which, they ſay, the King's Heart was not a little touched. *Lewis* had reſolved to deprive the *Genoeſe* of all Adminiſtration and Authority in public Affairs, and to confiſcate the Revenues of the Bank of

of *San Giorgio*, which were the Property of private Perſons, to diveſt them of all Show of Liberty, and to reduce the City to the ſame State of Subjection as the Towns of the *Milaneſe*; but yet a few days after, conſidering that by ſuch a Method he ſhould not only puniſh many innocent Perſons, but alienate the Affections of all the Nobility, and that it was eaſier to preſerve his Dominion with ſome Degree of Lenity, than by reducing his Subjects to a State of Deſpair, he continue their antient Government, as it ſubſiſted before their late Seditions; but to temper Lenity with Severity, he condemned the Community to pay Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats, which were not long afterwards reduced to Two Hundred Thouſand, to be paid within a certain Time, to reimburſe him of his Charges, and for erecting a Fortreſs at the Tower of *Codifa*, a ſmall diſtance from *Genoa*, and ſituated by the Sea-ſide above the Suburb that leads to the Valley of *Pozzevera* and *San Piero in Arena*. This Fortreſs, becauſe it commands the whole Haven, and Part of the City, is not improperly called

A. D. 1507.

*Genoeſe* pardoned on Conditions.

A. D. 1507. called *The Bridle* *. It was his Will alſo that they ſhould maintain a greater Garriſon than uſual, and ſhould keep in their Port Three light Galleys always equipped for his Service, and ſhould fortify the *Caſtellctto* and *Caſtellaccio*. He diſannulled all former Agreements between him and the City, but renewed his Grants of almoſt all the ſame Things, tho' not as Covenants but Privileges, that he might have it always in his Power to deprive the Citizens of them. He burnt the Book in which were recorded all the former Conventions made between him and the Republic, to the great Grief of the People. He aboliſhed the antient Stamp on the *Genoeſe* Coins, and ordered that, for the future, his own Mark ſhould be impreſſed on them, as a Demonſtration of his abſolute Superiority. To all this was added the Beheading of *Demetrio Giuſtiniano*, who, in his Examination, diſcovered all the Negotiations held with the Pope,

* He taxed the City in Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats, of which Sum One Hundred Thouſand were afterwards remitted, and the reſt were to be paid in Fourteen Months, except Forty Thouſand, which were to be paid immediately for building the Fortreſs. *Giuſtiniani.*

Pope, and the Encouragements received from him. *Pagolo da Nove*, the laſt Doge, a few Months after received the ſame Puniſhment. For as he was ſailing from *Piſa* to *Rome*, he was betrayed by a *Corſican*, who had been in his Pay, and ſold to the *French* for Eight Hundred Crowns. *A. D.* 1507.

THE King having diſpatched theſe Affairs, and received of the *Genoeſe* a ſolemn Oath of Fidelity, and granted his Pardon to all, except about Sixty, whom he left to the Diſpoſition of the Ordinary Courſe of Juſtice, ſet out for *Milan*; having, as ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of *Genoa*, diſbanded his Army, with which, had he followed the Courſe of his Victory, he might eaſily have oppreſſed whom he pleaſed of the *Italian* Potentates, who were but badly provided for making Reſiſtance. But the Reaſon of this ſudden Diſmiſſion of his Troops was to ſatisfy the Pope, the King of the *Romans*, and the *Venetians*, who had taken very great Umbrage at his Coming into *Italy*, that he *French* King diſbands his Army.

A. D. 1507. had formed no other Deſign than to recover *Genoa*.

BUT nothing was ſufficient to ſatisfy the Mind of the Pope, who, interpreting every thing in the worſt Senſe, made new and heavy Complaints of the King, as if it were by his Means that *Annibale Bentivoglio*, with Six Hundred Foot liſted in the Dutchy of *Milan*, had, about this time, attempted to enter *Bologna*, declaring that if he ſucceeded in that Enterpriſe, he would make a further Progreſs in the Eccleſiaſtical State. The Pope incenſed at this Proceeding, tho' he had before, with the greateſt Difficulty, declared the Biſhops of *Aus* and *Bayeux* Cardinals, refuſed to declare the Biſhop of *Albi*, bitterly complaining that it was by the Permiſſion of *Chaumont*, Brother to the Biſhop, that the *Bentivogli* were allowed to reſide in the *Milaneſe*. But, what was of greater Importance was, that when the King publickly declared his Intention of reducing the *Genoeſe* to Obedience by force of Arms, his Holineſs, tranſported with Hatred as well as Suſpicions,

cions, had ſignified by his Nuncios, and by a Brief written to the King of the *Romans* and to the Electors of the Empire, that the King of *France* was preparing to paſs into *Italy* at the Head of a very powerful Army, under Pretence of ſuppreſſing the Tumults in *Genoa*, which it was in his Power to compoſe with his ſole Authority; but his real Deſign was to oppreſs the State of the Church, and uſurp the Imperial Dignity. Beſides the Pope, the *Venetians* gave the ſame Notice to the *Germans*, being alike apprehenſive of the Coming of the *French* King with ſo great an Army into *Italy*. *A. D.* 1507.

MAXIMILIAN, who was naturally a great Lover of Novelties, being in the mean time returned into *Flanders*, where he in vain attempted to take upon him the Government of the Prince his Grandſon, ſummoned a Diet of the Princes of *Germany*, and the Free Cities, to meet at *Conſtance*. The Free Cities are thoſe Towns which acknowledge the Authority of the Empire by certain Payments, but in all other Matters are go- *Maximilian* calls a Diet of the Empire.

A. D. 1507. verned by themſelves, being intent, not on enlarging their Territories, but on preſerving their Liberties *. To this Diet was a greater and readier Concourſe of the Barons, Princes, and People from all Parts of *Germany*, than had been known at any for a very long Time; for there were preſent in Perſon all the Electors, with all the Princes, Eccleſiaſtic and Secular, throughout *Germany*, except ſuch as were detained by ſome juſt Impediment, in which Caſe they ſent either their Sons, Brothers, or other next Relations, to repreſent them by Proxy, and all the Free Towns ſent their Deputies. To this auguſt Aſſembly, by Order of *Cæſar*, the Pope's Brief was read, with a Multitude of Letters from different Places, of the ſame Import; in ſome of which it was expreſly aſſerted, that the King of *France* had deſigned to place in the pontifical Seat the Cardinal of *Rouen*, and to receive the

* Theſe Free Cities were Eighty-five in Number, but afterwards, as *Giovio* ſays, reduced to Seventy-two. They acknowledge no Superior but the Emperor, to whom they pay a ſmall Tribute, amounting to about Fifteen Thouſand Florins a Year. They are all under a popular or mixed Government, except ſome few.

the Imperial Crown at his Hands. Theſe Advices filled the Minds of the whole Aſſembly with the utmoſt Indignation, and *Cæſar*, as ſoon as the Murmurings and Noiſe would permit, made the following Speech. *A. D.* 1507.

His Speech to the Diet.

" You are already ſenſible, moſt noble Electors, Princes, and honourable Deputies, what Effects the Patience that we have exerciſed for the Time paſt has produced, and what has been the Conſequence of the Diſregard ſhewn to my Complaints in ſo many Diets. You ſee the King of *France*, who before durſt not, but on extraordinary Opportunities, and on ſpecious Pretences, make an Attempt againſt the Holy Empire, openly now making Preparations, not to defend our rebellious Subjects, as he had done at other times, nor to ſeize on ſome Place belonging to the Empire, but to deprive *Germany* of the Imperial Dignity, which has been acquired and preſerved with ſo great Valour, and with ſo much Pains, by our Anceſtors. And he has been emboldened in his Undertaking, not by

A. D. 1507. by the Increaſe of his own Strength, or the Diminution of ours, nor becauſe he is ignorant how much more powerful *Germany* is without compariſon than *France*, but from the Hopes he has conceived, from Experience of Things paſt, that we ſhall ever continue in the Manner we have hitherto done: That our Diviſions or our Sloth will have more Effect upon us, than any Incentives to Glory, or even Care of our own Safety: That for the ſame Reaſons for which we, to our great Shame, ſuffered him to get poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, to foment Diviſions among us, and to take under his Protection Rebels againſt the Empire, we ſhall tamely ſit ſtill while he raviſhes the Imperial Dignity, and transfers the Ornament and Splendor of this Nation into *France*. How much leſs reproachful would it prove to our Name, and how much leſs Grief ſhould I feel in my own Mind, were it known to all the World that *Germany* was inferior in Power to *France*; ſince I ſhould be leſs afflicted at Loſs than at Infamy; for at leaſt in ſuch a Caſe it would not be aſcribed to

our

our Imprudence or Cowardice, but either to the Condition of the Times, or to the Malignity of Fortune. But what can be more unhappy, what more miſerable, than to be reduced to ſuch a State, as to make it a deſirable thing not to be powerful? and to ſubmit voluntarily to the greateſt Loſs, in order to preſerve, ſince it cannot be done otherwiſe, our Names from eternal Infamy and Reproach? But that Greatneſs of Mind in every one of you, ſo often diſplayed in your private Concerns; that Courage, ſo eminent and peculiar to this Nation, with the Remembrance of the antient Valour and Triumphs of our Forefathers, ever the Dread and Terror of all other Nations, give me Hopes, and almoſt an Aſſurance, that, in an Affair of ſo weighty Concern, you will rouſe up your warlike and invincible Spirits. For we are not now treating about the Alienation of the Dutchy of *Milan*, or of the Rebellion of the *Swiſs*, in which important Affairs my Authority had but little Weight, on account of the Alliance I had contracted with *Lodovico Sforza*, for the particular Intereſts of the

A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. Houſe of *Auſtria*. But at preſent, wh[at] Excuſe can be pretended? With wh[at] Veil can we cover our Reproach? Th[e] Queſtion now is, Whether the *German* Poſſeſſors, not by Fortune but by Valou[r], of the *Roman* Empire, whoſe Arms hav[e] conquered almoſt the whole World, and whoſe Name is ſtill at preſent formidable to all the Kingdoms in Chriſtendom, ſhall baſely ſuffer themſelves to be deprived of ſo great a Dignity, ſhall be made an Example of Reproach, and, from being the chief and moſt glorious, ſhall become the loweſt, moſt ſcorned, and moſt reproached Nation in the World. What Reaſons, what Intereſts, what Reſentments can ever move you? If theſe cannot, what Motives can excite in you the Seeds of Valour and Generoſity, implanted in you by your Anceſtors? With what Sorrow will your Children and Deſcendents, in future Times, remember your Names, if you tranſmit not to them the *German* Name in that Grandeur and in that Authority with which it was tranſmitted to you from your Fathers? But laying aſide Exhortations and Perſuaſions, becauſe

becauſe it does not become me whom you have placed in this high Dignity, to be prolix in Speech, I ſhall proceed to lay before you Facts and Examples. It is my Reſolution to paſs into *Italy*, under the Name of receiving the Imperial Crown; a Solemnity, you know, which has more of Ceremony than Subſtance in it, for the Imperial Dignity and Authority depend wholly on your Election; but my principal Intention is to defeat the pernicious Counſels of the *French*, and to drive them out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, ſince we have no other Way to be ſecured from their Inſolence. I am confident that not one of you will make any Difficulty of granting me the Aids that are uſually given to Emperors that go to be crowned; theſe, in conjunction with my own Forces will, I doubt not, carry Victory with them every where, and the greateſt Part of *Italy* will meet me with humble Petitions for confirming their Privileges, or for obtaining from our Juſtice a Deliverance from the Oppreſſion under which they groan, or by decent Submiſſion to appeaſe the Anger of the Conqueror. A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. queror. The King of *France* will give way to the bare Name of our Arms, for the *French* have ſtill freſh in their Memories the Battle of *Guincguaſte*, in which I myſelf, tho' then but a Youth, and ſcarce more than of Boy's Eſtate, by dint of true Valour, and Greatneſs of Mind, broke the Army of King *Lewis* *; ſince which Time the Kings of *France* never durſt venture to try the Force of my Arms, but had recourſe to inſidious Arts and Stratagems. But conſidering the Generoſity, and Magnanimity, ſo peculiar to the *German* Nation, can you think it ſuitable to our Fame and Honour, in ſo preſſing and common Danger, to be ſo ſlow in our Reſentments, and not to make extraordinary Proviſions in ſo extraordinary a Caſe? And are you not called upon by the Glory and Greatneſs of your Name, which has always made you think it your Duty, in a peculiar Manner, to defend the Dignity of the *Roman* Pontiffs, and the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, which are

* *Guincguaſte* is a Village of *Picardy* near *Terrouenne*, where, in the laſt Year of *Lewis* XI, A. D. 1479, the *French* were overcome by *Maximilian*.

are now with equal Ambition and Impiety wickedly violated by the King of *France*, to rouſe up all *Germany*, by a General Decree, to take up Arms, and exert themſelves in the moſt powerful Manner for this Purpoſe? This Duty is now wholly incumbent on you, for I have ſufficiently diſcharged my Part in readily calling you together, to ſet before your Eyes the common Danger, and to animate you by the Example of my own Reſolution. In Me there ſhall be no Want of Fortitude of Mind to expoſe myſelf to any Danger, no Strength of Body, hardened by continual Exerciſe, to endure any Fatigue. And as for Counſel and Skill in Military Affairs, my Age and Experience have ſo qualified me, that you need not want a Leader worthy of that Honour for ſuch an Enterprize. But the more Authority you beſtow on your King, and the greater the Power and Force with which he is inveſted, the more eaſy will you render the Defence of the Liberty of the *Roman* Church, our common Mother; and, to your own exceeding Glory, and that of the *Germans*, you will exalt to the

D. A. 1507.

*A. D.* 1507. the higheſt Degree the Imperial Dignity, whoſe Greatneſs and Splendor are communicated to every one here preſent, as well as to the whole Body of this moſt powerful and warlike Nation."

THIS Speech raiſed wonderful Commotions in the Minds of the whole Audience, who were aſhamed that the Complaints of *Maximilian* had not been heard in former Diets. And as it was eaſy to excite a new Spirit of Indignation in Minds already incenſed, ſo when all the Members were in a great Heat, proteſting it ſhould never come to paſs that, by their Negligence, the Majeſty of the Empire ſhould be transferred to other Nations, they began, with great Unanimity, to treat on ſome neceſſary Articles. All were of Opinion that a very powerful Army was to be prepared, ſufficient, tho' it were oppoſed by the King of *France* and all the *Italians*, to renew and recover the antient Rights of the Empire in *Italy*, which, by the Weakneſs or Fault of the former *Cæſars*, were fallen into the Hands of Uſurpers. That the Glory of the *Germanic*

Its Effects on the Diet.

*manic* Body repreſented by the Concurrence of all the Princes, and of all the free Towns, required ſuch Meaſures, as ſhould plainly convince the World, that if in *Germany* there had not been for many Years a Union of Wills, it was not for want of that Power and Greatneſs of Courage by which their Anceſtors had made themſelves formidable to all the World, and univerſally acquired to themſelves a Name with immortal Glory, and the Imperial Dignity; and in particular many Noblemen had acquired Lordſhips and Grandeur; and how many illuſtrious Houſes are there who have reigned a long Time in *Italy*, whoſe States were acquired by their Valour! Theſe Affairs were debated with ſuch Warmth, that it is manifeſt there had not been for a long Courſe of Years a Diet, from which greater Movements were expected. People were univerſally perſuaded that, beſides other Reaſons, the Electors and the reſt of the Princes would the more readily agree to the Propoſals, as they were in hopes that, on account of the tender Age of the Sons of *Philip*, the Imperial Dignity, A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. nity, which had continued ſucceſſively in *Albert*, *Frederick*, and *Maximilian*, all of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, would paſs into another Family.

THESE Debates coming to the Ears of the King of *France*, had induced him, in order to prevent Suſpicion, as ſoon as he had ſubdued *Genoa*, to diſband his Army; and he would with the like Expedition have repaſſed the Mountains, but for the Deſire he had to have an Interview with the King of *Aragon*. That Prince was preparing to return into *Spain*, being wholly intent on reſuming the Government of *Caſtile*, becauſe *Giovanna* his Daughter was incapacitated for ſo weighty an Adminiſtration, not ſo much by the Weakneſs of her Sex, as by a Melancholy, occaſioned by the Death of her Huſband, which diſturbed her Mind; and her Sons by King *Philip* were under Age, the eldeſt being not yet full Ten Years old. Beſides, the old King was willing to give Way to the Importunities of many who recalled him to the Government, in grateful Remembrance

King *Ferdinand* invited to reſume the Government of *Caſtile*.

brance how thoſe Kingdoms had been ruled with Juſtice, and flouriſhed in long Peace, under his Adminiſtration. And he had ſtill a further Motive from the Diſſenſions which began to ariſe between the great Lords, and the manifeſt Signs of future Diſturbances that appeared in many Parts. His Return alſo was ardently deſired by his Daughter, who, tho' in other things wavering and beſides herſelf, was always conſtant in deſiring the Return of her Father, and obſtinately refuſed, amidſt all the Sollicitations and Importunities that could be uſed, to ſubſcribe her own Name to any Commiſſion, without which Subſcription, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Kingdoms, all Orders on occurrent Buſineſs relating to Affairs of Government were of no Validity. *A. D.* 1507.

For theſe Reaſons the King of *Aragon* left *Naples* after he had ſtayed there not above ſeven Months, without anſwering in any manner the vaſt Expectations that were conceived of him, not only on account of the Shortneſs of Time, and becauſe it is difficult to anſwer Conceits, which Sets out from *Naples* for *Spain*

A. D. 1507. which are ſeldom formed with due Maturity, or meaſured by juſt Proportions, but becauſe he had many Difficulties and Impediments to encounter, by which means he did nothing worthy of Praiſe or Remembrance for the public Good of *Italy*, nor any thing of Uſe or Benefit to the Kingdom of *Naples*. For he had no Time to employ his Thoughts on *Italy*, from his Deſire to return as ſoon as he could to the Government of *Caſtile*, the principal Foundation of his Greatneſs. On this Occaſion it was neceſſary by all means to preſerve the Friendſhip of the King of the *Romans*, and of the King of *France*; the firſt, on account of his Authority, as being Grandfather to the Children of the deceaſed King; and the other becauſe he was a neighbouring Power, and, by encouraging the Malecontents in his Kingdoms, might prevent his Return. When he ſet himſelf about eſtabliſhing the Kingdom of *Naples*, and gratifying the Nobility, he found Difficulties, into which he was thrown by the Peace he had made with the King of *France*, being obliged to make reſtitution of the Eſtates taken

taken from the *Anjouin* Barons, which either by Agreement, or as a Reward, had been diſtributed among thoſe who had followed his Party, and being unwilling to diſoblige his Friends, was under a Neceſſity of making them a Recompenſe either with Eſtates of the ſame Value, to be purchaſed of others, or in Money. But as his Subſtance was utterly inſufficient for this Purpoſe, he was conſtrained not only to exact with Rigour the royal Revenue, and to withhold the Bounty uſually beſtowed by new Kings on the People, without granting any Exemption, or exerciſing any kind of Liberality, but alſo, with incredible Complaints and Murmuring of all Ranks, to lay new Taxes on the People, who had expected Relief and Deliverance from their ſore Oppreſſion. Nor were the Complaints of the Barons of each Party leſs clamorous; for thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the forfeited Eſtates were loth to reſign them, and were beſides, by Neceſſity of the Times, much ſtinted and limited in their Recompenſes; and thoſe who had the Benefit of Reſtitution, were reſtrained as much A. D. 1507.

*A. D.* 1507. as poſſible in all Matters wherein any Controverſy aroſe, becauſe the leſs was reſtored to them, the leſs was the Recompenſe to the others.

THE King at his Departure was accompanied by the Great Captain, who had acquired vaſt Renown, and won the Hearts and Affections of all the *Neapolitans* to an incredible Degree, and was highly celebrated for his Liberality, as on all other Occaſions, ſo eſpecially for that generous Demonſtration of it before his Departure, in beſtowing very rich Gifts and Preſents; for which End, that he might not be wanting to his Honour, he was obliged to ſell no ſmall Part of his own Eſtate *.

THERE

* *Gonſalvo, Giovio* ſays, did not ſet out ſo ſoon as the King, but a little after him, that he might have Time to take Leave of his Friends, and of all the Citizens, and eſpecially the Ladies of Quality. Before his Departure he called all his Creditors, by ſound of Trumpet, to the Board of Treaſury, to receive their Debts, and gave large Sums to the Soldiers and Officers, to enable them to be liberal, and to provide themſelves with Ornaments and Neceſſaries, that they might return well equipped into their own Country.

A. D. 1507.

THERE was no great Harmony between the Pope and the King when he left *Naples*; for his Majeſty having demanded of the Pontiff the Inveſtiture of that Kingdom, he refuſed to grant it unleſs he paid the Tribute which had been formerly paid by the Antient Kings when they received the Inveſtiture. But *Ferdinando* inſiſted on having the ſame Abatement which had been made to his Couſin *Ferdinando*, and to his Sons and Nephews, demanding the Inveſtiture of the whole Kingdom in his own Name, as the Succeſſor of old *Alfonſo*. In this Capacity he had received the Homage and Oaths of his Subjects when he came to *Naples*, tho' in the Articles of the Peace made with the King of *France*, it was provided that, as to the *Terra di Lavoro* and the *Abruzzi*, the Name of the Queen ſhould be jointly recogniſed. It was believed, that this Refuſal of the Inveſtiture was the Cauſe that the King declined an Interview with the Pope, who at the time of his Departure waited for ſeveral Days in the Caſtle of *Oſtia*,

*A. D.* 1507. in expectation, as it was ſaid, of his Paſſage. But whatever be the true Reaſon, the King of *Aragon* ſailed directly to *Savona*, where, according to Agreement, he was to have a Conference with the King of *France*, who had with that Intent remained in *Italy*, and as ſoon as he had received Advice of *Ferdinando*'s ſetting ſail from *Naples*, ſet out from *Milan* for *Savona*.

Congreſs of the Kings of *France* and *Aragon*.

THIS Congreſs of the two Kings was attended with all the Demonſtrations of a free and full Confidence on both Sides, and ſuch as had never been remembered on the like Occaſion. For other Princes between whom there had been either Emulation, Remembrance of old Offences, or ſome Cauſe of Umbrage, were never brought together but with a Precaution that one of them ſhould not put himſelf in the Power of the other; but in this Caſe the Proceedings were quite different. For as ſoon as the *Aragonian* Squadron was come to an Anchor in the Port of *Savona*, the King of *France*, who was come down to the Key, paſſed over a wooden

wooden Bridge made for that Purpoſe, attended by a few Gentlemen *, and without a Guard, into the Forecaſtle of the King's Galley, where he was received with inexpreſſible Joy by the King and the Queen his Niece. After they had a while entertained themſelves in pleaſant Diſcourſe, they went aſhore over the ſame Bridge, walked on Foot into the City, and not without Difficulty paſſed through the Midſt of an infinite Multitude of People that flocked thither from all the neighbouring Towns. The Queen had at her right Hand her Huſband, and at her left her Uncle, and was moſt ſplendidly adorned with Jewels and other moſt ſumptuous Apparel. Immediately after the two Kings walked the Cardinal of *Rouen* and the Great Captain, then followed a great Number of young Ladies and noble Youths of the Queen's Court, all in moſt ſuperb Attire. The Proceſſion was preceded and cloſed by the Courtiers of the two Kings with the utmoſt Pomp and Magnificence, in moſt coſtly Robes

A. D. 1507.



* He had no more than three Attendants. *Biſhop of* Nebbio.

37551

A. D. 1507. and other Ornaments, of the richeſt Sort. In this pompous Manner the King of *France* attended the King and Queen of *Aragon* into the Caſtle appointed for their Lodging, which has a Gate towards the Sea, and aſſigned to their Court that Half of the Town which is contiguous to the Caſtle, himſelf taking up his Quarters in the Biſhop's Palace facing the ſame.

Reflections on the Congreſs.

IT was certainly a Sight worthy of Remembrance to behold together two Kings the moſt powerful of all the Chriſtian Princes, who had a little before been moſt bitter Enemies, not only reconciled as linked in Affinity, but diſcarding all Enmity, and cancelling all Remembrance of paſt Injuries, each of them entruſting his own Life in the Power of the other, with as much Confidence as if they had been always the moſt affectionate of Brothers. Hence thoſe who were preſent took occaſion to argue which of the two Kings ſhewed the moſt Confidence. Many cried up that of the King of *France*, who put himſelf

himſelf into the Hands of the other without any other Security but *Ferdinando*'s Faith; who had great Reaſon to be aſhamed that ſuch Confidence was firſt repoſed in him; beſides there was more Ground for Suſpicion that he might be pleaſed to have it in his Power to ſecure himſelf of the King of *France*, that he might the better eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But many, on the other hand, magnified, in a greater Degree, the Confidence of *Ferdinando*, who not for a very ſhort time only, as the other, but for ſeveral Days entruſted his Perſon with the King of *France*, whom he had deprived of ſo fine a Kingdom, with ſo great a Loſs of his Soldiers, and ſo much Diſhonour to his Name, that he had Reaſon to fear, that Hatred and a Deſire of Revenge were predominant in him; and, as it might be further ſuggeſted on the ſame ſide, the Perfidy would meet with the greater Reward. For *Ferdinando* could not promiſe himſelf much Benefit from making a Priſoner of the King of *France*, becauſe his Kingdom was eſtabliſhed on its own A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. Laws and Cuſtoms in ſuch a Manner, that its native Force and Authority would not ſuffer much Diminution by ſuch an Accident *. But if *Ferdinando* ſhould be made a Priſoner, it could not be doubted but that, by reaſon of the tender Age of his Heir, and the Newneſs of his Acquiſition of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and becauſe his other Kingdoms, that of *Caſtile* in particular, would from various Accidents be ſubject to fall into Confuſion among one another, ſo that the King of *France* would not for many Years have received any Diſturbance from the Arms and Power of *Spain*. But the Great Captain furniſhed the Spectators with no leſs Matter for Diſcourſe, than the two Kings, and all Eyes were as much turned upon him, for the Fame of his Valour, and the Memory of his many Victories, which carried ſuch a Luſtre, that the *French* themſelves, tho' ſo often beaten by him that they had hated and abhorred his very Name, now could not be ſatisfied in viewing

* This is verified by what happened afterwards at the Battle of *Pavia*, where King *Francis* was taken Priſoner, but his Kingdom ſuffered no Manner of Diminution by that Event.

viewing and honouring him, and in relating his Exploits to thoſe who had never been in the Kingdom of *Naples*; ſome telling with what extraordinary and incredible Expedition and Stratagems he had on a ſudden attacked the Barons in their Quarters at *Laino*; others recounting with what Conſtancy of Mind he had endured ſo many Difficulties and Hardſhips in the Midſt of Famine and Peſtilence, when beſieged in *Barletta*. Some expatiated on his Diligence and efficacious Way of engaging the Hearts of Men; by help of which he kept together his Soldiers ſo long a Time without Money; how valiantly he fought at *Cirignuola*; with what Strength and Fortitude of Mind, when ſo much inferior in Force, with an Army not paid, and ſurrounded with infinite Difficulties, he reſolved not to quit his Camp near the River *Garigliano*; with what military Induſtry, and by what Stratagems he obtained the Victory there; and how he never neglected taking all Advantages of the Diſorders of the Enemy. And the Admiration of the Public was increaſed by his peculiar

A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. peculiar majeſtic Preſence, the Magnificence of his Words, and his Behaviour, which was full of Gravity ſoftened with Gracefulneſs. But above all the King of *France*, who inſiſted that he ſhould ſup at the ſame Table with *Ferdinando*, the Queen, and himſelf, and had cauſed *Ferdinando* to lay his Commands on him for that Purpoſe, was in a manner raviſhed with beholding him, and converſing with him; ſo that it was univerſally agreed, that this Day was no leſs glorious to the Great Captain, than that in which as a Conqueror he entered in Triumph with his Army into the City of *Naples*. This Day was indeed the laſt of the glorious Days of the Great Captain, for afterwards he never went out of the Kingdom of *Spain*, nor had any farther Opportunity for the Exerciſe of his Talents in War, or in any remarkable Tranſaction in Time of Peace.

THE

* In this Congreſs of the two Kings, ſays *Giovio*, nothing was to be ſeen more worthy or more illuſtrious than *Gonſalvo*, to whom *Lewis* himſelf confirmed the Title of *Great*.

*A. D.* 1507.

THE two Kings ſtayed together three Days, in which Time they held very ſecret and long Conferences, to which none was uſually admitted except the Cardinal of *Santa Praſſede*, the Pope's Legate. In theſe Conferences, as appeared partly from what then tranſpired, and partly from what happened afterwards, the Kings reciprocally promiſed to maintain a perpetual Friendſhip and good Underſtanding with each other, and it was agreed that *Ferdinando* ſhould endeavour to compoſe the Differences between *Ceſar* and the King of *France*, that ſo being all united together they might afterwards attack the *Venetians*. And to manifeſt that they had the commom Cauſe of all as much at Heart as their own private Intereſt, they conſulted about reforming the State of the Church, and calling a Council for that Purpoſe. On this Head *Ferdinando* did not proceed with much Sincerity, but his Aim was to amuſe the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who was ardently deſirous of the Pontificate, with hopes of a Council. By ſuch Arts as theſe he got the Affections of that Prelate

Conferences at the Congreſs.

*A. D.* 1507. Prelate to ſuch a Degree, that he was not convinced till late, and after many Demonſtrations, and perhaps with no ſmall Detriment to the Affairs of the King his Maſter, what a wide Difference there was between the Sayings and Doings of that Prince, and how deep and ſecret he laid his Meaſures.

Affairs of the *Piſans.* THEY had alſo on the Carpet the Cauſe of the *Piſans*, about which the *Florentines* had been treating that Year with both of the Kings. For the King of *France*, when he was making Preparations againſt the *Genoeſe*, being provoked with the *Piſans* for the Aſſiſtance they had given to that People, and it appearing to him convenient for his Affairs that the *Florentines* ſhould recover *Piſa*, had given them Hopes that, after he was Maſter of *Genoa*, he would order his Army to march thither; for the King and the whole Court had changed their antient Goodwill towards the *Piſans* into Hatred, for their ſuccouring the *Genoeſe*. But the Enterprize againſt *Genoa* being finiſhed, he altered his Reſolution, for the

the ſame Reaſons which induced him to diſband his Army, and that he might not offend the King of *Aragon*, who affirmed that he would undertake to diſpoſe the *Piſans* to return unanimouſly under the Dominion of the *Florentines*; from which Management the King of *France* was in Hopes of obtaining a round Sum of Money from that Republic. The King of *Aragon* directed his Endeavours to that Purpoſe, tho' from different Motives. For it would be more agreeable to him that the *Florentines* ſhould not recover *Piſa*; but knowing that the Place could not be preſerved without Expence and Difficulty, and doubting it would fall into their Hands by Means of the King of *France*, he had entertained Hopes, while he was at *Naples*, that he was able, by virtue of his own Authority, to induce the *Piſans* to ſubmit to the Dominion of the *Florentines* upon honourable Conditions. And, in caſe of Succeſs, the *Florentines* promiſed to enter into a Confederacy with him, and to preſent him at different Times with One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Ducats. But not finding in A. D. 1507.

the

A. D. 1507. the *Piſans* that Compliance which they had at firſt given him Reaſon to expect, and to prevent the King of *France* from receiving the whole Reward, he had told the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors in plain Terms, that if they attempted, by any manner of Means, to recover *Piſa* without his Aſſiſtance, he would openly oppoſe their Enterprize. And that he might prevail on the King of *France* to lay aſide all Thoughts of uſing Force, ſometimes he declared that he was confident of inducing the *Piſans* to ſome Compoſition; ſometimes he told him that they were under his Protection; but that was falſe. It was true indeed that the *Piſans* had ſeveral times demanded it, and offered to ſurrender themſelves abſolutely to his Dominion; but tho' he ever allured them with Hopes, and ordered the Great Captain to do the ſame in a more ſimple Manner, yet he had never complied with their Requeſt. But this Affair being more particularly diſcuſſed in *Savona*, the two Kings concluded that it was fit that *Piſa* ſhould return under Subjection to the *Florentines*, and that they ſhould both receive a Gratifica-

tion

tion on that account. The *Florentines* being appriſed of theſe Negotiations in their Favour, would by no Means diſoblige the King of *Aragon*, and forbore this Year to deſtroy the Harveſt of the *Piſans*; from which they had promiſed themſelves great Succeſs. For *Piſa* was much exhauſted of Proviſions, and ſo weak in their Forces, that the Troops of the *Florentines* over-ran all the Country to the very Gates of *Piſa*, where the Peaſants, who were more numerous than the Citizens, being very loth to loſe the Fruit of a whole Year's Labour, had begun to abate much of their uſual Obſtinacy. Nor had the *Piſans* any longer the joint Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours; for the *Genoeſe*, overwhelmed with Calamities, employed their Thoughts on other Matters; *Pandolfo Petrucci* refuſed to be at any Expence; and the *Luccheſe*, tho' they had always furniſhed them with Succours of one kind or other in private, were unable alone to ſuſtain ſo vaſt a Charge.

*A. D.* 1507.

*Piſans* abandoned by their Neighbours.

THE two Kings left *Savona* after a Stay of four Days, and parted from one another

Departure of the two Kings from *Savona*.

*A. D.* 1507. ther with all the Demonſtrations of cordial Agreement and Affection; one went by Sea to *Barcelona*, the other returned by Land to *France*, leaving the Affairs of *Italy* in the ſame State, but the Pope under a greater Diſſatisfaction of Mind. His Holineſs took Occaſion from the late Step of *Annibale Bentivoglio* to make Inſtances, by the Cardinal of *Santa Praſſede*, to the King of *France* at *Savona*, to have *Giovanni Bentivogli* and his Son *Aleſſandro*, who reſided in the Dutchy of *Milan*, delivered up to him Priſoners; repreſenting to his Majeſty, that ſince they had broke thro' the Agreement made by means of *Chaumont* in *Bologna*, he was no longer obliged to obſerve his Word of Honour given them, and offering, if his Requeſt were granted, to create the Biſhop of *Albi* a Cardinal. The King anſwered that there was no Evidence of their Guilt, which if proved he was diſpoſed to puniſh; that he had kept *Giovanni* many Days a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Milan*, but, no Witneſs of their Miſdemeanours appearing againſt them, he would not break his Word, to which he thought himſelf obliged; yet, to

Popecomplains of the *Bentivogli*.

to do his Holineſs a Pleaſure, he was diſ- *A. D.* 1507.
poſed to ſuffer him to proceed againſt them with Cenſures and Penalties, as Rebels to the Church; which would give him no more Concern than he felt when the Mob, in the Heat of the late Commotion, demoliſhed the Palace of the *Bentivogli* to the very Foundation.

In the mean time the Diet, aſſembled at *Conſtance*, raiſed the Expectations of the Public as much by their Proceedings as they had done at the Beginning. And theſe Expectations were kept up by *Cæſar* with various Arts, and magnific Speeches, publiſhing abroad, that he was to paſs into *Italy* with ſuch an Army, that all the Forces of the King of *France* and the *Italians*, united together, would not be able to reſiſt him. And to give the greater Weight and Authority to his Cauſe, by demonſtrating that the Defence of the Church was what he laid moſt to Heart, he ſignified, by his Letters to the Pope and the College of Cardinals, that he now declared the King of *France* a Rebel, and an Enemy to the Holy Empire, for his

A. D. 1507. paſſing into *Italy* with a Deſign to transfer the Pontifical Dignity on the Perſon of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, the Imperial Crown on himſelf, and reduce all *Italy* under miſerable Subjection; and therefore he was preparing to come to *Rome* to be crowned, and to eſtabliſh the common Liberty and Safety: That by his Imperial Dignity being Advocate of the Church, and by his own proper Piety ardently deſirous of advancing the Apoſtolic See, it did not become him to expect that the Pontiff ſhould addreſs him with Requeſts or Intreaties on ſuch an Occaſion, ſince he knew that his Holineſs, from an Apprehenſion of theſe wicked and miſchievous Deſigns, had fled out of *Bologna*, and that the ſame Fears and Apprehenſions had prevented him and the College of Cardinals from making known the Danger, or demanding Succours *.

THE

* The Cisalpine Writers make no mention of the Emperor's propoſing a War with *France*; they ſay, that in this Diet, which laſted from *April* to *Auguſt*, he treated of breaking with the *Venetians* for ſeizing on ſome of the *Auſtrian* Towns, and aiding the King of *France* in the Conqueſt of the *Miſaneſe*; and that on his Complaints it was reſolved to declare War againſt the *Vene-*

D. A. 1507.

THE News of what was tranſacting in *Germany* coming to *Italy* by various and repeated Advices, and magnified by Fame, as uſual, beyond the Truth; together with what was publickly talked, and daily gained Credit, about the vaſt Preparations which were making by the King of *France*, who was believed to have juſt Grounds for Apprehenſions, raiſed great Commotions in the Minds of all who thought themſelves concerned, in ſome exciting Hopes, in others Fears, and in others a Deſire of Innovations. Hence the Pope ſent the Cardinal of *Santa Croce* his Ambaſſador to *Cæſar*; and the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and all the independent Potentates of *Italy*, except the Marquis of *Mantoua*, deputed to him ſome proper Perſons, either with the Title of Ambaſſadors, or under ſome other Denomination. This Situation of Affairs occaſioned great Perplexity to the King of *France*, who was uncertain of



*Venetians*. But what is related by our Author ſeems the moſt likely, from the Reſolutions which were taken by the Diet.

A. D. 1507. of the Diſpoſition of the *Venetians*, and much more of that of the Pope, on account of ſome old Prejudices, and now eſpecially for his making choice of the Cardinal of *Santa Croce* for that Ambaſſy, who was an antient and hearty Friend of *Cæſar*, and zealous for promoting his Grandeur. But, to ſpeak the Truth, the Diſpoſition of the Pope was ſo far from being obvious to others, that it was not known to himſelf; for having his Mind full of nothing but Diſſatisfaction and Suſpicions concerning the King of *France*, at one time he wiſhed for the Coming of *Cæſar*, that he might be delivered from them; at another, the Remembrance of the antient Controverſies between the Popes and the Emperors excited his Fears, conſidering that the ſame Grounds for Contention ſtill remained. In this doubtful and perplexed Condition, he delayed coming to any Determination, expecting to hear firſt what had been reſolved in the Diet. Proceeding therefore according to general Forms, he inſtructed his Legate to exhort *Cæſar*, in his Name, to paſs into *Italy* without an Army, and,

Pope perplexed.

in

in that Caſe, to offer him greater Honours than had ever been paid by any Pope at the Coronation of Emperors. *A. D.* 1507.

BUT the Expectations of the Public from the Reſolutions of the Diet began in a little time to diminiſh. For as ſoon as it was known in *Germany* that the King of *France* had, immediately after the Reduction of *Genoa*, diſbanded his Army, and was afterwards, with all the Speed he could make, returned on the other Side of the Mountains, the Fears and Concern about his uſurping the Pontificate and the Empire quite ceaſed, and the Ardour of the Princes and People abated; nor was the public Concern, as it generally happens, any longer of ſuch Weight as to make them overlook their private Intereſt; and, beſides other Reaſons, it has been the conſtant Deſire and Concern of all *Germany*, for many Ages, that the Greatneſs of the Emperors might not increaſe to ſuch a Height as to enable them to ſubject the reſt of the Princes and States to their Obedience. Nor was the King of *France* at all wanting in Induſtry

*A. D.* 1507. duſtry to vindicate his own Cauſe, for he ſent privately proper Perſons to *Conſtance*, who did not appear in public, but ſecretly laboured, with the tacit Conſent of the Princes who were the Friends of the King their Maſter, to clear him of thoſe infamous Reproaches caſt upon him by the plain Evidence of Facts; they inſinuated that the King, as ſoon as he had reduced *Genoa* to his Obedience, immediately diſbanded his Army, and, without leaving Troops in *Italy*, was departed from that Country with all the Haſte he could make, and returned beyond the Mountains. Theſe Emiſſaries alſo aſſerted that the King had not only abſtained from injuring the *Roman* Empire by Deeds, but that in all Confederacies, Conventions, or Obligations whatſoever, in which he had engaged himſelf, it was conſtantly with this Exception, "That he ſhould not be bound to any thing contrary to the Rights of the Holy Empire." The King, however, did not ſo far rely on this Juſtification, as not to uſe a more prevailing Argument, which was, to temper the *German* Ferocity by a liberal Diſtri-

Diſtribution of his Gold, of which that Nation is very greedy. *A. D.* 1507.

THE Diet ended at laſt on the 20th Day of *Auguſt*, having reſolved, after much Debate, to grant to the King of the *Romans*, for his Expedition into *Italy*, Eight Thouſand Horſe and Thirty Thouſand Foot, with Six Months Pay, and for the Charge of the Artillery and other extraordinary Expences, One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand *Rheniſh* Florins, for once only: That on the next Feſtival of *San Gallo*, which is about the Middle of *October*, the Troops ſhould rendezvous near *Conſtance*. It was reported at that time, that the Diet would perhaps have granted larger Supplies, if *Maximilian* had conſented that the Expedition, under his Management and Direction, ſhould be undertaken entirely in the Name of the Empire, the General Officers elected by Orders of the Empire, the Troops commanded under the ſame Name, and the Diſpoſal of the Places acquired left to the Determination of the Diet. But *Maximilian* would have no Reſolutions of the Diet.

*A. D.* 1507. Colleague, nor act under any other Name than his own, nor have the Rewards of his Victories given to any but those of his own Appointment, tho' in the Name of the Empire, chuſing rather ſmaller Supplies on his own Terms, and at his own Diſpoſal, than larger with Limitations and Reſtrictions of his Power and Authority.

*Italy* under Alarms.

THOUGH for theſe Reaſons the Reſolutions of the Diet did not anſwer the Expectations which the Public had at firſt conceived of them, yet *Italy* was not freed from its Apprehenſions on account of this intended Expedition. For it was conſidered that the Troops granted to *Maximilian* in the Diet, in conjunction with thoſe which his own Subjects were able to furniſh, and thoſe which he could raiſe at his own Expence, would make a very powerful Army, conſiſting all of brave and reſolute Soldiers, expert in War, attended with an infinite Train of Artillery, and, what rendered it the more formidable, under the Command of a General who, by his natural Diſpoſition

ſition, and long Exerciſe in Arms, was moſt expert in military Diſcipline, and well qualified to undergo any Fatigue of Body, or Anxiety of Mind, that might be required for the moſt difficult Enterprize, and therefore was in greater Reputation than any Emperor had been in theſe Hundred Years paſt *. Beſides, a Treaty was ſet on foot for taking into his Pay a Body of Twelve Thouſand *Swiſs*; the Bailiff of *Dijon*, indeed, and other Agents of the King of *France*, made very ſtrong Oppoſition againſt it in the Diet of that Nation, putting them in Mind of the Confederacy which had ſubſiſted ſo many Years with *France*, and confirmed not long ago by the King, and of the Benefits that had accrued to the

A. D. 1507.

* *Maximilian*, immediately after his being elected Emperor, went againſt the *Turks*, and expelled them out of *Croatia*. He afterwards invaded *Burgundy*, and got the better of the *Swiſs*. He ſubdued the Peaſants who in great Numbers had riſen about *Spires*, and, after recovering *Bavaria*, he obliged *Philip* Count Palatine of the *Rhine* to aſk him Pardon, as he did ſoon after the Duke of *Guelderland*, who had revolted from him. The Year following he carried his Arms againſt the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and made him accept of his own Terms.

*A. D.* 1507. their People from it; on the other hand representing their inveterate Enmity with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the bloody War they had engaged in with *Maximilian*, and how pernicious the Greatneſs of the Empire muſt be to their Eſtabliſhment; yet they ſhewed no ſmall Inclination to ſatisfy the Demand of *Cæſar*, or at leaſt not to bear Arms againſt him, out of a reverential Fear of injuring the *German* Nation, whoſe Cauſe ſeemed partly annexed to this Undertaking. Hence many were of Opinion that the King of *France*, if he ſhould find himſelf abandoned by the *Swiſs*, would either join with the *Venetians*, not having a Body of Infantry ſufficient to oppoſe that of the Enemy, or would put his Troops in Garriſon for Defence of the Towns, in hopes that the *German* Forces, after pouring into *Italy* like a Torrent, would in a little Time be diſpirited, and languiſh away for Want of Money; and it was obſerved, that the *French* were already hard at work in fortifying the Suburbs of *Milan*, and others of the moſt important Places in that Dutchy.

At

*A. D.* 1507.

AT the Noiſe of theſe Commotions and mighty Preparations the *Venetian* Senate were no leſs alarmed and perplexed than the other States; and as their Reſolutions were of the higheſt Importance, their Alliance was ſollicited, with the utmoſt Care and Diligence, by each Party. *Cæſar* had, at the Beginning, ſent to *Venice* three Ambaſſadors of great Authority, to make Inſtances for Leave to paſs through their Territories; and not content with this Demand, he invited them to enter into a ſtricter Alliance with him, on condition that they ſhould participate of the Fruits of the Victory; and, on the contrary, he repreſented to them, that it was in his Power to make an Agreement with the King of *France*, who had often ſollicited it, at different Times, on Conditions that would tend to their Prejudice.

*Venetians* courted by *Maximilian*.

ON the other Side, the King of *France*, by his Ambaſſadors at the Senate of *Venice*, and by the *Venetian* Ambaſſador who reſided at his Court, was ſollicitous to

and by the King of *France*.

A. D. 1507. to induce the Republic to oppose with Force of Arms the Coming of *Cæsar*, as pernicious to them as well as himself; offering at the same time the Assistance of all his Forces, and to continue in perpetual Confederacy with them.

BUT the *Venetian* Senate was, at that Time, unwilling that the Peace of *Italy* should be disturbed, and was not to be tempted, by the Offers of enlarging their Empire, to wish for new Commotions; for knowing by Experience that the Acquisition of *Cremona* was no Compensation for the Jealousies and Dangers to which they were continually exposed since they chose the King of *France* for their near Neighbour, they would willingly have resolved on a Neutrality; but being earnestly sollicited and teazed by *Cæsar*, they were under a Necessity of granting or refusing him a Passage. They were afraid to deny it, because they were the first who lay in his Way to be attacked; if they granted it, they would offend the King of *France*, for in the Confederacy that subsisted between them it was ex-

expreſly prohibited to grant a Paſſage to the Enemies of either Party. And they were ſenſible that when once they had begun to offend him, it would be afterwards a Folly to remain idle Spectators, and wait till Victory had declared for one Party or the other, for they would then be ſure to have one for their moſt bitter Enemy, and the other, having received no other Satisfaction than to be allowed a Paſſage, would not think himſelf much obliged to their Friendſhip. For theſe Reaſons the Senate was unanimouſly of Opinion, that it was neceſſary to declare openly for one of the Parties; but on what Side to fix their Choice in ſo weighty an Affair, there were great Variety of Sentiments. Therefore after they had delayed, as long as they could, coming to a Reſolution, and were no longer able to reſiſt the preſſing Inſtances which each of the Parties made them, they referred the Affair at laſt to the ultimate Determination of the Council of the Pregadi, in which *Nicolo Foſcarino* made the following Speech: A. D. 1507.

" If

A. D. 1507.

" If it lay in our Power, moſt excellent Senators, to paſs a Reſolution by which the Peace of our Republic, in the Midſt of theſe mighty Movements and Troubles which now threaten to beſet us, might be preſerved and eſtabliſhed, I am very certain that there would be no Difference of Sentiments among us, and that no Propoſals would be ſufficient to incline us to a War attended with ſo much Coſt and Danger as the preſent appears to carry with it. But ſince, for the Reaſons ſo often of late alledged in our Debates, there are no Hopes of preſerving our Peace, I perſuade myſelf that the principal Reaſon on which we are to found our Reſolution, is to conſider cloſely with ourſelves, whether it be probable that the King of the *Romans*, deſpairing of our Friendſhip, will join with the King of *France*, or that the Enmity between theſe two Princes is ſo powerful and efficacious as to prevent any ſuch Union: For if we could be ſecure from that Danger, I ſhould make no Scruple of preferring the Friendſhip of the King of *France*, becauſe

becauſe when our Forces are heartily united with his Troops for the common Defence, we ſhall eaſily protect our State; and it will be more honourable to continue our Confederacy with him, than to renounce it without any apparent Reaſon. Beſides, it will be more laudable, and carry a better Aſpect in the Sight of all Mankind, to enter into a War with a profeſſed Intention of preſerving the Peace of *Italy*, than to join our Arms with thoſe which we cannot but know are taken up with a Deſign to raiſe great Commotions and Diſturbances. But preſuppoſing the Danger of an Union, I cannot believe that any one will deny that we ought, by all means, to prevent it; and, without compariſon, the moſt effectual Way would be to join with the King of the *Romans* againſt the King of *France*, rather than to wait till they unite together againſt us. But whether this Conjunction will take place or not, it is difficult to form any certain Judgment, becauſe it depends not only on the Will of others, but on ſuch a Multitude of Accidents, and Cauſes, as hardly leave it in

A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. in the Power of thoſe whom it concerns, to know what Reſolution is moſt proper to be taken; yet from what we can learn by Conjecture, and from what paſt Experience has taught us concerning Futurity, it appears to me a very hazardous Point, and juſtly to be dreaded by us. For it is more than probable that the King of the *Romans* will overcome all Difficulties, conſidering the ardent Deſire of that Prince to paſs into *Italy*, which it would not be eaſy for him to accompliſh, unleſs he joins with the King of *France*, or with us; and tho' he ſhould rather chuſe to join with us, yet who can doubt that, if he were refuſed by us, he would not of Neceſſity agree with the King of *France*, having no other Way to attain the Completion of his Deſires? On the Side of the King of *France*, there ſeem to be greater Difficulties to obſtruct this Union, but they are not ſuch as, in my Opinion, can promiſe us any Security; for he may be induced to take ſuch a Reſolution from Jealouſy or Ambition, two powerful Incentives, and each of them often ſufficient of itſelf to execute much

much greater Movements. He is well informed of the preſſing Importunities with which the King of the *Romans* ſollicits our Union, and meaſuring, tho' falſely, our Intentions and Deſires meerly by his own, may doubt that the Jealouſy which we may entertain of being prevented by him, may induce us to prevent him; eſpecially ſince he knows that we are well informed of what he and the King of the *Romans* have ſo long a time been treating together againſt us. He may alſo be apprehenſive that we are incited by Ambition, ſince he cannot doubt that we are offered very large Shares; and what Means are ſufficient to ſecure him from theſe Apprehenſions? nothing being more apt to create Jealouſy than the Increaſe of Dominion. It is poſſible alſo that he might be moved by Ambition, through the Deſire which we know he has for the City of *Cremona*, which is excited in him and ſtimulated by the *Milaneſe*. Nor would he ſtop here, but the ſame covetous Ambition would induce him to ſeize on what formerly belonged to the *Viſconti*, to which

A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. as well as to the reſt of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he pretends an hereditary Title, and which he can have no Hopes of obtaining but by joining with the King of the *Romans*; for our Republic is powerful in itſelf, and if we are attacked by the King of *France* alone, we ſhall always have it in our Power to join with *Maximilian*. And that this may poſſibly be in his Thoughts, or rather was never out of his Mind, we may rationally believe, becauſe he never attempted to oppreſs us without this Union, which being the only Way that can conduct him to his deſired End, ought we not to believe that at laſt he will attempt to effect it? Nor can our Fears be removed by conſidering that it would be an impolitic Reſolution, for the Sake of two or three Cities, to introduce into *Italy* the King of the *Romans*, his natural Enemy, and from whom he can never meet with any thing elſe but Troubles and Wars, and no Friendſhip but what is uncertain, and even that uncertain Friendſhip muſt be procured and kept up by immenſe Sums of Money. For if he ſhould entertain a Suſpicion that

that we ſhall unite with the King of the *Romans*, he will imagine that, by preventing us he ſhall not put himſelf in a State of Danger, but of Security. And tho' he ſhould not be apprehenſive of this Union, he will perhaps judge it neceſſary to confederate with *Cæſar*, in order to ſecure himſelf from the Troubles and Dangers which may ariſe from that Prince, aſſiſted by *German* Auxiliaries, or other Adherents upon occaſion. And ſuppoſing that his Dominions may poſſibly be in a more dangerous State when the King of the *Romans* ſhall once begin to ſet footing in *Italy*, yet it is the common Nature of Men to be moſt afraid of Dangers that are neareſt, to ſet a greater Eſtimate on Things preſent than is due to them, and to pay too little Regard to Things future, and at a Diſtance, on a Preſumption that Time and Opportunity will afford us ſufficient Remedies againſt future and remote Evils. But granting that this Union will not be for the Benefit of the King of *France*, does it follow that we may be ſecure that he will not engage himſelf in it? Can we be ignorant how Men A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. are blinded, ſometimes by Fear, ſometimes by a covetous Ambition? Do we not know the Nature of the *French*? That they are quick and ready for new Enterpriſes, and that their Hopes of Succeſs are never leſs than their Deſires? Are we not appriſed of the Encouragements and Offers, ſufficient to rouſe the moſt peaceable Diſpoſition, by which their King has been ſtimulated againſt us by the *Milaneſe*, the Pope, the *Florentines*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantoua*. All Men are not wiſe, nay very few are ſo; and he who takes upon him to foretell the Reſolutions of another, muſt, if he has not a Mind to be deceived, conſider with himſelf not ſo much what a wiſe Man would probably do in the like Circumſtance, as the natural Parts and Diſpoſition of the Perſon who is to take theſe Reſolutions. He, therefore, who would judge what the King of *France* will do, muſt not ſo much attend to the Duties which Prudence requires, as to the natural Temper of the *French*, who are remarkable for their Reſtleſsneſs, Levity, and proceeding with

with more Heat than Judgment in the general Courſe of their Undertakings. A. D. 1507. He muſt take into his Conſideration the natural Qualifications of great Princes, which are not like our own, nor ſo eaſily reſiſt their Appetites as thoſe of private Men. For, accuſtomed to be adored in their own Kingdoms, where even their Looks are underſtood and obeyed, they are not only haughty and inſolent, but cannot bear to be diſappointed of obtaining what they imagine to be their juſt Due. And whatever they deſire appears to them as ſuch, for they perſuade themſelves that they can level all Impediments with a Word, and ſurmount the Nature of Things. Nay, they reckon it a Shame not to indulge their Inclinations on account of Difficulties, commonly meaſuring Affairs of greater Moment with the ſame Rule by which they uſe to proceed in Matters of leſs Concern, conducting themſelves not by Prudence and Reaſon, but by Will and Caprice. Theſe Defects being ſo common amongſt Princes in general, none will ſay that the *French* are exempt from them. Have

*A. D.* 1507. we not freſh before our Eyes the Example of the Kingdom of *Naples*, half of which the King of *France*, induced by Ambition and the want of Conſideration, conſented ſhould go to the King of *Spain*, that he himſelf might enjoy the other Half; not conſidering how much he weakened his own Power, which was then ſole among all the *Italians*, by introducing into *Italy* a King of equal Power and Authority with himſelf? But what need have we to go by Conjectures in Things where we may have Certainty? Is it not known to every Body that the Cardinal of *Rouen* treated with this ſame *Maximilian* at *Trent* about dividing our State? And what more certain than that this ſame Negotiation was afterwards concluded at *Blois?* And that the ſame Cardinal went into *Germany* on the ſame Buſineſs, and brought back with him the Ratification of *Caſar* confirmed with his Oath? Theſe Treaties had no Effect, I confeſs, on account of ſome intervening Difficulties; but who ſhall ſecure us that, ſince the principal Intention continues the ſame, ſome Means may not be

be found for removing thoſe Difficulties which have hitherto diſappointed them? A. D. 1507. It is your Part now, moſt worthy Senators, diligently to conſider the imminent Dangers, together with the Imputations and Reproaches that, in the Face of all the World, will be caſt upon our Senate, ſo renowned for Prudence, if, making a wrong Eſtimate of the preſent Condition of Affairs, we ſhould ſuffer others to make themſelves formidable, to our Coſt, with thoſe Arms which are offered us for our Security and Advantage. Conſider, I beſeech you, for your Country's Sake, what mighty Difference there is between carrying a War into an Enemy's Territory, and waiting till it be brought home to your own Doors; between treating about dividing the States of others, and waiting till your own be divided; between joining in Company againſt one alone, and remaining alone againſt many in Company. For if theſe two Kings join together againſt us, they will be followed by the Pope, on account of the Towns of *Romagna*, the King of *Aragon* will come in for the Ports of the Kingdom

A. D. 1507. of *Naples*, and all *Italy*, ſome to recover what they have loſt, others to ſecure what they poſſeſs. All the World knows what has been treating ſo many Years between the King of *France* and *Cæſar* againſt us. If we ſhould, therefore, arm ourſelves againſt one who has endeavoured to deceive us, none will cry out againſt us for Breach of Faith, but all will account us wiſe; and, to our great Commendation, we ſhall have the Pleaſure to ſee that Diſtreſs and Miſery fall upon him, which every one knows he was deceitfully contriving to bring upon us."

To this Speech *Andrea Gritti*, a Senator of great Worth, made the following Reply:

Speech of *Andrea Gritti.* "If it were proper, in a Matter of ſuch Importance, to drop a dubious Ball *,

I

* In the Original *rendere Voto nel Boſſolo de' non Sinceri*; to underſtand which it muſt be noted, that among the *Venetians*, Reſolutions of State are determined by Ballotting, that is, by caſting little Balls of Linnen into Boxes. For this Purpoſe they have three Urns or Boxes;

I muſt confeſs, moſt illuſtrious Senators, that would be my Inclination, becauſe there are ſo many Arguments on both Sides of the Queſtion in Debate, that for my part I am often confounded. It being neceſſary, however, to come to a Reſolution, which is not to be done without ſome Foundation, or certain Suppoſitions to be firſt made, our Buſineſs is to weigh thoſe Reaſons which contradict one another, and to follow thoſe which are moſt probable, and have the ſtrongeſt Appearance of Succeſs. When I examine theſe Reaſons, I can by no means comprehend why the King of *France*, either out of Apprehenſion of being prevented by us, or out of an ambitious Deſire of thoſe Towns that formerly belonged to the Dutchy of *Milan*, ſhould

*A. D.* 1507.

Boxes; one green for receiving the Balls of thoſe who are for the Queſtion, or for the Affirmative; a Second white, for the Reception of the Balls of thoſe who are of the Negative Side; and the third Box, which is red, contains the Balls of ſuch as are dubious, or unſatisfied as to the Merits of the Cauſe, or when, as the *Latins* expreſs it, *Non liquet*. Theſe Boxes are joined together, under one Cover, which has an Aperture in the Middle, into which a Perſon may put his Hand, and drop his Ball into any one of the three Boxes he pleaſes unperceived.

A. D. 1507. ſhould enter into an Agreement with the King of the *Romans* to induce him to make an Expedition into *Italy* againſt us. For the Dangers and Loſſes he muſt ſuſtain by ſuch a Step, are, without doubt, greater and more manifeſt than the Danger of our joining with *Cæſar*, or the Advantages that can be hoped from ſuch a Reſolution; conſidering that, beſides the Enmity and the vaſt Injuries they have ſuffered from one another, there is alſo a Competition of Dignity and States, which is wont to breed Strife and Hatred between the greateſt Friends. To imagine, therefore, that the King of *France* will call into *Italy* the King of the *Romans*, is the ſame as to ſay that, inſtead of a quiet Republic, which has ever been in Peace with him, and pretends to no Cauſe of Difference, he would chuſe to have for his Neighbour a King, of a moſt reſtleſs Spirit, whom he has injured, and who has a thouſand Cauſes for contending with him about Dignity and Dominion, as well as for Revenge. Let it not be ſaid that, becauſe the King of the *Romans* is poor, irregular and unlucky, the King

King of *France* has no Reaſon to be uneaſy at his Vicinity: For the Memory of the antient Factions and Inclinations of the *Italians*, which is ſtill kept up in many Parts, and eſpecially in the Dutchy of *Milan*, is of ſuch Influence, that a *Roman* Emperor can never ſet the leaſt Footing in *Italy* but with great Danger to the Neighbourhood; eſpecially *Maximilian*, whoſe patrimonial State is contiguous to *Italy*, and is reputed a Prince of a great Spirit, and of much Skill and Experience in warlike Affairs, and keeps with him the Children of *Lodovico Sforza*, a powerful Motive with Multitudes to raiſe Diſturbances; not to mention that, in all the Wars which he may have at any time with the King of *France*, he may expect to have the Catholic King for his Ally, if for no other Reaſon, becauſe they have both the ſame Succeſſor *. The King of *France* knows very well how powerful *Germany* is, and how much eaſier it will be to unite all that Nation, or Part of it, when once an Entrance

A. D. 1507.

* *Charles* V, who ſucceeded *Maximilian* in the Empire, and *Ferdinando* in the Kingdom of *Spain*.

A. D. 1507. trance is opened into *Italy*, and the Hopes of Plunder ſhall preſent. And have we not ſeen how much he has always ſtood in fear of the Motions of the *Germans*, and of this poor King of the *Romans*, how poor and deſpicable ſoever he may be repreſented? And whenever this poor Prince comes into *Italy*, you may be aſſured he will be the Cauſe of a dangerous War, or of a precarious and expenſive Peace. *Lewis* may poſſibly have a Deſire to recover *Cremona*, and perhaps ſome other Towns; but it is not therefore probable that, for the Sake of a ſmall Acquiſition, he ſhould ſubject himſelf to the Hazard of a much greater Loſs. And it is more credible that he will proceed in this Caſe with Prudence than with Temerity, eſpecially if we take into Conſideration thoſe Errors which that King is ſaid to have committed; for we ſhall find them to proceed from no other Original than a too eager Deſire of inſuring his Undertakings. For what elſe induced him to divide the Kingdom of *Naples*? What other Motive prevailed on him to make a Ceſſion of *Cremona* to us, but that he choſe to facilitate

litate the Victory in thoſe Wars? It is more probable then that he will, for the ſame Reaſon, now follow wholeſome Advice, and his own Cuſtom, rather than raſh Counſels; and the more readily, ſince this Method will not leave him deprived of all manner of Hopes of obtaining his Ends at another Time, with greater Security, and a more favourable Opportunity, which Mortals are wont to promiſe themſelves with too great Facility; becauſe he who promiſes himſelf nothing but Changes and Revolutions in the Affairs of this World, is leſs miſtaken than he that is perſuaded of their Firmneſs and Stability. Nor am I terrified at what is ſaid to have been negotiated at other times between theſe two Kings. For it is the Cuſtom of Princes in our Age artfully to entertain one another with vain Hopes, and diſſembled Negotiations, which after a Courſe of many Years together having taken no Effect, muſt be conſtrued to have been either fictitious, or to involve in them ſome Difficulty, which could not be reſolved, becauſe the Nature of the Things was repugnant to the Re-

A. D. 1507.

moval

A. D. 1507. moval of the Diffidence between the Parties, without which there can be no Foundation laid for Conjunction. I am not apprehenſive, therefore, that the King of *France* will precipitate himſelf into ſuch imprudent Reſolutions out of an ambitious Deſire of acquiring our Towns; much leſs, in my Judgment, will he take ſuch violent Meaſures, on account of any Jealouſies he may entertain of us; for, beſides the long Experience he has had of our Diſpoſition, as there have not been wanting many Provocations and many Opportunities to induce us to break off our Confederacy with him, the ſame Reaſons which render us ſecure of him, render him in like manner ſecure of us. For nothing in the World can be more pernicious to our Republic than for a King of the *Romans* to have States in *Italy*, as well becauſe of the Authority of the Empire, the Increaſe of which muſt always give us Umbrages, as alſo on account of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which pretends a Right to many of our Towns, and of the Vicinity of *Germany*, whoſe Inundations are too dangerous to our

our Dominions; We ought then to proceed with our uſual Caution, ſince we are univerſally reputed to be very deliberate in our Reſolutions, and are accuſed rather of Slowneſs than Speed. I do not deny but that theſe Affairs might take a Turn different from the Opinions of Men, and therefore that it would be a right Meaſure, if it were eaſy to be put in Practice, to ſecure ourſelves againſt it. But ſince that is not to be done without expoſing ourſelves to extreme Dangers and Difficulties, we are to conſider that vain Fears and Diſtruſt are oftentimes as prejudicial as too much Confidence. For if we enter into a Confederacy with the King of the *Romans* againſt the King of *France*, the War muſt be commenced and proſecuted at our Expence; beſides which we muſt find Money to ſupply all the Prodigality and Extravagances of that Prince; for otherwiſe he would either come to an Agreement with our Enemies, or retire into *Germany*, leaving us encumbered with all the Burden and Danger of the War. We are then to manage a War againſt the moſt potent King of *France*, Duke

A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. Duke of *Milan*, and Lord of *Genoa*, abounding in valiant Men at Arms, and furniſhed, as much as any Prince whatever, with Plenty of Artillery, and whoſe Money would attract a Concourſe of Soldiers from every Nation. How then can it be expected that ſuch an Undertaking ſhould be attended with a happy Succeſs, ſince there is Reaſon alſo to ſuſpect that all the Potentates of *Italy*, who either pretend that we are in poſſeſſion of what belongs to them, or ſtand in fear of our Greatneſs, will join together againſt us; and the Pope above all others, who, beſides the Prejudices he has conceived againſt us, would be very ſorry to ſee an Emperor become powerful in *Italy*, on account of the natural Antipathy between the Church and the Empire, by which the Popes ſtand in as much Dread of the Emperors in Temporals as of the *Turks* in Spirituals. And this Conjunction would perhaps be no leſs dangerous to us, than one between the King of *France* and the King of the *Romans*, of which we ſtand ſo much in fear. For when Princes who pretend to be equal unite, Jealouſies

ſies and Contentions will eaſily ariſe between one another, by which means it often happens that thoſe Enterprizes which were commenced with vaſt Expectations and Hopes of Succeſs, become attended with a Multitude of Difficulties, and at laſt prove abortive. Nor ought we to poſtpone to all other Conſiderations, that tho' the King of *France* has indeed held Negotiations contrary to our Confederacy, yet it appears not from the Effects that he can be ſaid to have failed us; and therefore to take up Arms againſt him, cannot be done without incurring the Reproach of violating our Faith, to which this Senate ought to pay the higheſt Regard, for the Honour and Service it does us in our daily Tranſactions with other Princes. Nor is it our Intereſt continually to increaſe an Opinion, that we ſeek to oppreſs all our Neighbours, and that we aſpire at the Monarchy of *Italy*. And I wiſh to God that we had hitherto proceeded with more Caution, becauſe moſt of the Jealouſies to which we are obnoxious at preſent, ariſe from our having given too much Cauſe of Offence on this A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507. Head in Times paſt. It will never be believed that our Fears excite us to a new War againſt the King of *France* our Ally, but an ambitious Deſire of gaining from him, by means of our Conjunction with the King of the *Romans*, ſome Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*, as we had before, in conjunction with the King of *France*, gained a Part from *Lodovico Sforza*; at which Juncture, if we had conducted ourſelves with more Moderation, and not ſtood too much in fear of groundleſs Jealouſies, the Affairs of *Italy* would not have been in the preſent Agitations, the World would have entertained a higher Opinion of our Modeſty and Gravity, and we ſhould not now find ourſelves fallen under an Obligation of entering into a War with one or the other of theſe Princes, either of whom is more powerful than ourſelves. But ſince we are reduced to the preſent Neceſſity, I am of Opinion that it would be more prudent for us not to relinquiſh our Confederacy with the King of *France*, than from a Motive of vain Fears, or Expectations of uncertain and dangerous Gains, to enter

enter into a War which we are unable to ſuſtain alone, and in which the Aſſociates propoſed will, in the End, be rather a Burden than a Help to us." *A. D.* 1507.

So great a Variety of Reaſons on both Sides cauſed various Opinions in the Senate. But at laſt the moſt prevailing Argument with them was the Remembrance of that Inclination which they knew the King of the *Romans* had always ſhewn for recovering, at the firſt Opportunity, thoſe Towns in their Poſſeſſion, which appertained, as he pretended, either to the Empire or to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. They came to a Reſolution, therefore, to grant him a Paſſage if he came without an Army, but to deny him one if he intended to come with an armed Force. And in their Anſwer to his Ambaſſadors they endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to perſuade them that they were induced to come to this Concluſion more out of Neceſſity, on account of the Confederacy which ſubſiſted between them and the King of *France*, and the Condition of the preſent Times, than from an Reſolution of the *Venetian* Senate, and their Anſwer to *Maximilian*.

A. D. 1507. Intention of offending him in any reſpect; adding, that by the ſame Confederacy they were obliged to aſſiſt that King with an expreſs Number of Soldiers in the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*; but in that reſpect they would proceed with the utmoſt Caution, and in no manner go beyond the Bounds of their Obligations, and, except ſo far forth as they were conſtrained to act for the Defence of the State of *Milan*, they would not oppoſe him in any other Part of his Progreſs, but were determined, as far as lay in their Power, to perform all thoſe kind Offices of Benevolence and Reſpect which were fit for a *Venetian* Senate to exerciſe towards ſo great a Prince, with whom they had always lived in Friendſhip and good Neighbourhood.

IT was on theſe Conſiderations that the *Venetians* reſolved not to enter into any new Confederacy or Obligations with the King of *France*, being deſirous to intermeddle as little as poſſible in the War between them, in hopes perhaps that *Maximilian*, to avoid plunging himſelf in new Diffi-

Difficulties, would let their Frontiers remain in Peace, and turn his Arms againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, or the State of *Milan*. The King of the *Romans* now found himſelf cut off from all Hopes of getting the *Venetians* on his Side, and other Difficulties began to increaſe upon him, which he laboured to ſurmount by the Greatneſs of his Ideas, which always flattered him with Hopes that ſurpaſſed all Impediments. But the Execution of his Projects was greatly retarded for want of Money; for his own Treaſury could not furniſh him with a Sum ſufficient to hire a Body of *Swiſs*, and for ſo many other Expences; and as for the pecuniary Subſidies promiſed by the Diet, they were not enough to ſupply the leaſt part of an all-devouring War; and the Foundation on which from the Beginning he had built much of his Hopes, by flattering himſelf that the Communities and Powers of *Italy*, ſtruck with the Terror of his Name and of his Coming, would be glad to make Compoſition with him, and to furniſh him with Money, began every Day to diſcover more A. D. 1507.

*A. D.* 1507. and more Signs of Weakneſs. For tho' at firſt the Inclinations of many of theſe States were diſpoſed to aſſiſt him, yet the Reſolutions of the Diet of *Conſtance* not anſwering the Expectations of the Public, that this Enterpriſe was immediately to be undertaken by the whole Empire, and by almoſt all *Germany* on their own Account, and every one obſerving the mighty Preparations of the King of *France*, with the new Declaration of the *Venetians*, all the *Italian* Powers ſtood in Suſpenſe, and durſt not aſſiſt him with any thing of which he ſtood moſt in Need, for fear of greatly offending the King of *France*. Nor did *Maximilian* make his Demands at a Time when they moſt dreaded his Power, nor were they ſo reaſonable as to induce them to a ready Compliance. He demanded of every one, according to his Condition, high Contributions, and, particularly, an exceſſive Sum of *Alfonſo* Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he pretended to be indebted to *Blanche* his Wife, for the Dowry of *Anne* her Siſter, married to the Duke, and dead many Years. Of the *Florentines*, with whom he employed the

*Maximilian's exorbitant Demands of the Italians.*

the Cardinal of *Breſcia*, who had the Management of his Affairs at *Rome*, to treat with them about their Compoſition, he made the intolerable Demand of Five Hundred Thouſand Ducats; which exorbitant Impoſition confirmed them in their Reſolution of temporizing with him, and waiting to ſee the further Progreſs of his Affairs. But as they were cautious of incurring his Diſpleaſure, they excuſed themſelves from ſending their Troops to the King of *France*, who demanded them, alledging that they could not ſpare them, becauſe they were employed in laying waſte the Country of the *Piſans*, againſt whom they had made great Preparations that Year; for as the *Genoeſe* and other neighbouring States were afreſh preparing to aſſiſt that People, they were under a Neceſſity of ſtanding perpetually on their Guard againſt them. D. A. 1507.

CÆSAR, therefore, being diſappointed in his Deſign of obtaining Money from the *Italians*, for he only got Six Thouſand Ducats from the *Seneſe*, made Inſtances to the Pope that his Holineſs

A. D. 1507. would at leaſt allow him to take the Hundred Thouſand Ducats which had been collected in *Germany* under the Name of a War againſt the *Turks*, and were for that Purpoſe repoſited in that Country, and could not, without Leave of the Apoſtolic See, be converted to any other Uſe. He offered, at the ſame time, that, tho' he could not comply with the Requeſt of his Holineſs, of paſſing into *Italy* without an Army, yet as ſoon as he had reſtored to the Dutchy of *Milan* the Children of *Lodovico Sforza*, the Patronage of whom, he pretended, he had undertaken, in order to render the People of that State more favourable to him, and his Paſſage leſs obnoxious, he would leave all his Army in that Dutchy, and take his Progreſs to *Rome* without an armed Force, to receive the Imperial Crown. But in this Demand he was likewiſe denied by the Pope, who ſeemed not to incline to either Side, and remonſtrated that, in the preſent State of Affairs, he could not, without great Danger, provoke the Arms of the King of *France* againſt himſelf.

MAX-

*A. D.* 1507.

MAXIMILIAN, however, ſurrounded with theſe Difficulties, as he was induſtrious, confident, and reſolutely bent to compaſs his Ends, whatever Pains it might coſt him, omitted nothing that might continue the Report of his Paſſage, ſending Artillery into ſeveral Places on the Borders of *Italy*, and carrying on his Negotiation for hiring Twelve Thouſand *Swiſs*; but that Nation interpoſing various Demands, and propoſing many Exemptions, had not yet given him any certain Reſolution. He continued alſo his Sollicitations for all the Troops promiſed him, and poſting in Perſon, every Day from one Place to another, on various Expeditions, ſo puzzled the Conjectures of the Public, that through all *Italy* there was never known ſuch a Diverſity of Judgments on any Affair, ſome forming vaſter Ideas than ever of this Enterpriſe, whilſt others judged it to be rather declining than advancing. This Uncertainty he augmented by his own Management, for being very reſerved by Nature, he never communicated his Thoughts to others,

A. D. 1507. others, and that they might be a greater Secret to *Italy*, he ordered that the Pope's Legate and the other *Italians* ſhould be removed to a Place at ſome diſtance from him, and cloſely watched.

THE Feaſt of *San Gallo*, the Term appointed for aſſembling the Troops, was now come; but a very ſmall Part of them appeared at the Rendevous at *Conſtance*, nor were there ſcarce any other Preparations to be ſeen but moving of Artillery, and the extraordinary Hurry and Diligence of *Cæſar* in collecting of Money by different Means; whence it was uncertain with what Force, or at what Time, or to what Quarter he deſigned to direct his Motions, whether to enter *Friuli*, or, by the Way of *Trent*, into the *Veroneſe*; ſome imagining that he would make an Invaſion into the Dutchy of *Milan* through *Savoy*, or by the Way of *Como*, becauſe he was attended by many Exiles of that State; nor was it certain whether he would not make a Motion towards *Burgundy*: Wherefore powerful Proviſions were made againſt him

him in different Places where there was an Apprehenſion of his Approach. The King of *France* had ſent a great Number of Horſe and Foot into the Dutchy of *Milan*, and, beſides other Preparations for the Defence of that State, had, with the Catholic King's Permiſſion, of which *Maximilian* made heavy Complaints, enliſted Two Thouſand Five Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Chaumont*, at the ſame time, doubting of the Fidelity of the *Borromei*, had ſuddenly ſeized on *Arona*, a Caſtle belonging to that Family on the *Lago Maggiore*. Into *Burgundy* were ſent Five Hundred Lances under *la Tremouille*, Governor of that Province; and, to divert the Thoughts and Forces of *Cæſar* into ſeveral Parts at once, the King was continually aiding and encouraging the Duke of *Guelderland*, who was infeſting the Country of *Charles*, *Cæſar*'s Grandſon. Beſides all this, he had ordered *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, with Four Hundred *French* Lances and Four Thouſand Foot to *Verona*, for the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, who had formed a Camp towards *Rovere*, under

*A. D.* 1507.

Preparations againſt *Maximilian*.

A. D. 1507. under Count *Pitigliano*, of Five Hundred Men at Arms and a good Body of Foot, to watch the Motions of the Enemy about *Trent*; and into *Friuli* they had ſent Eight Hundred Men at Arms under *Bartolomeo Alviano*, who was not long before returned into their Service.

BUT the Danger firſt diſcovered itſelf in a Part where it was not expected; for *Polbattiſta Giuſtiniano*, and *Fregoſino*, two *Genoeſe* Exiles, conducted to *Gazzuolo*, a Town of *Lodovico da Gonzaga*, which was a Fief of the Empire, One Thouſand *German* Foot, who ſuddenly paſſed, with incredible Speed, over the mountainous and rugged Parts of the *Venetian* Dominions, with an Intention to croſs the *Po*, and make their Way, through the Mountains of *Parma*, towards *Genoa*. But *Chaumont*, ſuſpecting their Deſign, immediately ordered a good Body of Horſe and Foot to *Parma* to oppoſe them on the Road; on which the *Germans*, loſing all Hopes of ſurpriſing *Genoa*, returned back to *Germany*, but not with the like Speed or Hazard; for the *Venetians*, conſulting the

the common Welfare, tacitly conſented to their free Return. At the ſame time a great Number of *Genoeſe* Exiles were known to have been in the City of *Bologna*, which made the King of *France* very ſuſpicious that this Affair had been concerted with the Knowledge of the Pope, of whoſe Inclinations he was jealous on many other Accounts. For the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, encouraged *Cæſar*, tho' more out of his own Inclination than for any other Motive, to make a Deſcent into *Italy*; and, on the other hand, the Exiles of *Forli*, having marched out of *Faenza*, and attempted to enter *Forli* by Night, the Pope complained that the Deſign had been concerted between the King of *France* and the *Venetians*. To this it might be added, that a certain Friar, being impriſoned at *Mantoua*, confeſſed that he had treated with the *Bentivogli* about poiſoning the Pope, and that ſome, employed by *Chaumont*, had encouraged him to execute what he had promiſed the *Bentivogli*. The Pope, therefore, having his Examination drawn up in an authentic Form and Manner, diſpatched

*A. D.* 1507.

Plot againſt the Pope's Life.

*A. D.* 1507. diſpatched *Achille de' Graſſi*, a *Bologneſe*, Biſhop of *Peſaro*, and afterwards Cardinal, to carry it to the King, and to make Inſtances that the Truth might be found out, and the Guilty puniſhed for their Villainies. The principal Perſon concerned was ſuſpected to be *Aleſſandro Bentivoglio*, who was by the King's Order ſummoned to *France*.

THESE Tranſactions, and this dubious State of Affairs, put an End to the Year 1508. 1507. But at the Beginning of 1508, the inconſtant Temper of the *Bologneſe* not ſuffering them to reſt in Peace, *Annibale* and *Eymes Bentivoglii*, holding a Correſpondence with ſome young Gentlemen of the Family of the *Pepoli*, and other Noble Youths, on a ſudden preſented themſelves before *Bologna*, which endangered that City; for the Conſpirators had before ſeized on the Gate of *St. Mammolo*, by which the *Bentivogli* were to enter the Town; but the People running to Arms, in favour of the Eccleſiaſtic State, the young Noblemen were intimidated, and abandoned the Gate, on which

The *Bentivogli* attempt to enter *Bologna*.

which the *Bentivogli* retired. This Inſult rather mitigated than exaſperated the Spirit of the Pope againſt the King of *France*; for the King, to ſhew that he was much diſturbed at this audacious Attempt, commanded *Chaumont* to be ready upon every Occaſion to ſend all his Men at Arms to the Aſſiſtance of the preſent Eſtabliſhment of *Bologna*, and not ſuffer the *Bentivogli* to harbour any longer in any Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*. About this Time *Giovanni Bentivoglio* died of a broken Heart, having never been accuſtomed, before his Expulſion from *Bologna*, to bear the Frowns of Fortune; he had, for a long time, been accounted the moſt happy of all the Tyrants of *Italy*, and an Example of Proſperity. For during the Space of Forty Years, in which he governed *Bologna* at his own Diſcretion, he never had occaſion to mourn the Death of any one in his Family. During this time he got conferred on himſelf and his Sons military Commands, Appointments, and extraordinary Honours from all the Princes of *Italy*; and always extricated himſelf with

*A. D.* 1508.

Death and Character of *Giovanni Bentivoglio*.

the

A. D. 1508. the greateſt Eaſe from any difficult or dangerous Affair. For this happy Succeſs he ſeems principally beholden to Fortune, together with the commodious Situation of his City, being himſelf generally reputed a Perſon of no extraordinary Talents for Wit, Wiſdom, or any other valuable Accompliſhment *.

In the Beginning of this ſame Year, *Cæſar*, not chuſing to defer any longer his entering upon Action, ſent a Herald to *Verona*, to notify his Deſign of paſſing into *Italy* to receive the Imperial Crown, and to demand Quarters for Four Thouſand Horſe. To this Meſſage the Governors of *Verona*, after firſt conſulting the *Venetian* Senate on that Demand, returned for Anſwer, that if his Majeſty had no other Motive for his Paſſage but to get himſelf crowned, they ſhould be ready to pay him the higheſt Honours: But

* *Giovio* ſays, that *Giov. Bentivoglio* ruled *Bologna* above Thirty Years, and lived to above Seventy; and that as to his own Qualifications he ſeemed worthy to govern that City, if his Sons, who were avaricious, injurious, proud, and cruel, had not incited their Father to dangerous and diſorderly Acts of tyrannical Inſolence.

But that it appeared, from Matters of Fact, that he had other Motives than what he owned; ſince he had conducted to their Frontiers an Army, provided with all manner of warlike Stores, and a Train of Artillery. *Maximilian*, in the mean time, being arrived at *Trent*, in order to open the Campaign, on the 3d of *February* ordered a ſolemn Proceſſion, at which he attended in Perſon, the Heralds of the Empire marching before him, and the Imperial Sword carried naked. After him in the Train came *Matteo Lango*, afterwards Biſhop of *Gurce*, his Secretary, who from a raiſed Place made Proclamation in the Name of *Cæſar*, of his Reſolution to paſs into *Italy* in a hoſtile Manner, no longer naming him King of the *Romans*, but Emperor Elect, according to the Cuſtom of the Kings of the *Romans*, when they go to receive the Crown. *Cæſar* ordered that no Perſon ſhould go out of *Trent* that Day, and commanded a great Quantity of Bread to be baked, which, with a vaſt deal of other Proviſions, and Wood for making Palliſades and Gabions, he ſent down the A. D. 1508.

A. D. 1508. River *Adice*, on a great Number of Rafts. The next Morning, a little before Break of Day, he marched out of *Trent*, with Fifteen Hundred Horſe and Four Thouſand Foot, not of thoſe Troops that were granted him by the Diet, but of his own Guards, and of thoſe levied in his own Dominions, and took the Road that leads over the Mountains to *Vicenza*. At the ſame time the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, with Five Hundred Horſe and Two Thouſand Foot, all raiſed in his own Country, marched towards *Rovere*. But the next Day *Brandenbourg* came back again, having done nothing more than preſented himſelf before *Rovere*, and demanded Quarters, which were denied him. *Cæſar* however being entered upon the Mountain of *Siago*, the Foot of which is about Twelve Miles diſtant from *Vicenza*, took the Towns of the Seven Communities, that being the Denomination of thoſe People who dwell on the Top of the Mountain, and who enjoy many Privileges and Exemptions from the *Venetians*, and having levelled abundance of Trenches which the Inhabitants had cut to defend them-

themſelves, and obſtruct his Paſſage, he ordered ſome Pieces of Cannon to be brought thither. Here he tarried in expectation of better Succeſs, till, on the Fourth Day after his Departure from *Trent*, he ſuddenly marched back to *Bolzano*, a Town more remote than *Trent* from the Borders of *Italy*, leaving all People in Amazement at his Fickleneſs, and ill-digeſted Counſels. *A. D.* 1508. *Maximilian* miſcarries in his firſt ſetting out.

THIS poor and weak Effort of *Maximilian*, at his firſt ſetting out, raiſed the Spirits of the *Venetians*, who, beſides enliſting a good Number of Foot, and ſending for the *French* Troops which were at *Verona* under the Command of *Trivulzio*, to come to *Rovere*, were intent on making greater Preparations, and ſtimulated the King of *France* to do the ſame. *Lewis* was marching towards *Italy*, and had ſent before him Five Thouſand *Swiſs* in his own Pay, and Three Thouſand who were to be paid by the *Venetians*. For that Nation, *Maximilian* having no Money to give them, were eaſily perſuaded to lett themſelves to the *French*;

*A. D.* 1508. and yet, after they had been entered, and received their Pay, they refuſed to march into the *Venetian* Dominions, proteſting that they would not ſerve againſt *Cæſar* on any other Occaſion than in the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

A GREATER Movement, of more unhappy Conſequence, and deſigned as a Prelude to Events of much greater Importance, was making in *Friuli*. In this Country *Cæſar* ordered Four Hundred Horſe and Five Thouſand Foot, all raiſed in his County of *Tirol*, to make an Invaſion, by way of the Mountains. This Body of Troops entered the Valley of *Cadoro*, and took the Caſtle and the Fort, together with the ſmall Garriſon, and the *Venetian* Governor. On Advice of this Motion at *Venice*, the Senate ordered *Alviano*, and *Giorgio Cornaro* the Proveditor, who were in the *Vicentine*, to march immediately to ſuccour that Country. And the more to haraſs the Enemy on that Side, they ordered Four light Gallies, and other Veſſels, to ſail towards *Trieſte*. At the ſame time *Maximilian*, who had removed

removed from *Bolzano* to *Brunech*, turned off to the Road of *Friuli*, for the Conveniency of the Paſſes, and that he might have room to extend himſelf, with Six Thouſand Foot raiſed out of the Country; then paſſing haſtily through ſome Valleys, that were above Forty Miles within the Borders of the *Venetians*, he came into the Valley of *Cadoro*, whence he took the Road to *Trevigi*, and leaving behind him the Caſtle of *Boſtauro*, which then belonged to the Patriarchate of *Aquilea*, he took the Caſtle of *St. Martino*, that of *Pieve*, and a Valley defended by the Counts *Savignani*, and other Places in that Neighbourhood. After this Progreſs, more becoming a Partiſan than a King, he left Orders for his Troops to proceed towards the *Treviſan*, and at the End of *February* returned to *Inſpruck* to pawn his Jewels, and make other Proviſions for raiſing Money, which as he rather ſquandered than expended, no Quantity was ſufficient to anſwer his Neceſſities. But underſtanding by the Way that the *Swiſs* had accepted the Pay of the King of *France*, it raiſed his Indignation againſt them,

A. D. 1508.

*Maximilian's* Exploits in *Friuli*.

A. D. 1508. them, and he went to *Ulm*, a City of *Swabia*, with a Deſign to induce the *Swabian* League to lend him Aſſiſtance, as they had done, on another Occaſion, in a War againſt the *Swiſs*. He made Inſtances alſo to the Electors that he might have the Time for which the Auxiliaries were promiſed him in the Diet of *Conſtance* prolonged for another Six Months. In the mean time the Troops which he had left at *Trent*, to the Number of Nine Thouſand between Horſe and Foot, after Three Days Siege, took the Caſtle of *Bajocco*, which ſurrendered at Diſcretion. This Caſtle is ſituated over-againſt *Rovere*, and lies on the right Hand of the great Road from *Trent* to *Italy*, the River *Adice* paſſing between the Caſtle and *Rovere*.

ALVIANO put himſelf in Motion to ſuccour *Friuli* with all poſſible Expedition; and having paſſed the Mountains, which were covered with Snow, after two Days he arrived near *Cadoro*, where he waited for his Foot, which had not been able to keep pace with him. He poſſeſſed himſelf

ſelf of a Paſs, unguarded by the *Germans*, by which he entered into the Valley of *Cadoro*; and the People of the Country, who choſe to remain under the *Venetian* Government, taking Courage at his Arrival, ſeized on the Paſſes of the Valley, by which the *Germans* might have retreated. They ſeeing themſelves incloſed, had no Hopes of ſaving themſelves but by their Arms; and, judging that *Alviano* would receive Reinforcements every Day, put themſelves in order, and marched with the greateſt Animoſity and Reſolution to encounter him. *Alviano* not refuſing to engage, there began between them a moſt cruel Battle, in which the *Germans* fought deſperately, more with a Deſire of dying glorioufly, than in hopes of ſaving themſelves; and caſting themſelves into one great Battalion, and placing their Women in the Middle, maintained the Fight ſtoutly for ſome Hours, but were at laſt forced to yield to the Numbers and Bravery of their Enemies, and were totally defeated, above a Thouſand of them being killed on the Spot, and the reſt made Priſoners. *A. D.* 1508.

*Alviano* defeats the *Germans* in *Friuli*.

*A. D.* 1508.

AFTER this Victory *Alviano* attacked the Caſtle of *Cadoro* in two Places, and took it. In the Aſſault *Carlo Malateſta*, one of the former Lords of *Rimini*, was killed by a Stone thrown from a Tower. The General improving the Opportunity led his Army to *Portonavone*, which he took, and afterwards *Cremonſa*, ſituate on a Hill. After this he laid Siege to *Goritz*, ſituated at the Foot of the *Julian Alps*, ſtrong by the Nature of the Place, well fortified, and with a Caſtle on a Place of difficult Aſcent. *Alviano*, after making himſelf Maſter of the Bridge, planted his Batteries againſt the Town, which ſurrendered the Fourth Day upon Articles, the Garriſon being in want of Arms, Water and Proviſions. The Town being taken, the Governor of the Caſtle with his Garriſon, on the Receipt of Four Thouſand Ducats, gave up that Fortreſs. This Place the *Venetians* immediately fortified with many new Works, becauſe it was in Nature of a Bulwark againſt the *Turks*, and a Barrier to prevent their paſſing the River *Liſontio*, for by the Com-

Takes *Goritz*, *Trieſte*, &c.

Commodiouſneſs of its Situation it could eaſily intercept their Retreat. After the taking of *Goritz* the General laid Siege to *Trieſte*, which was at the ſame time attacked by Sea, and eaſily took it, but not without diſpleaſing the King of *France*, who was not for provoking the King of the *Romans* too far. But the Place, by its Situation, and Command of the Gulf of *Venice*, lying very convenient for the Commerce of the *Venetians*, they were willing to take the Benefit of their good Fortune, and fluſhed with their Proſperity, were determined to purſue their Victory; and therefore, after they had made themſelves Maſters of *Trieſte* and its Caſtle, they took *Portonone*, and then *Fiume*, a Town of *Sclavonia* oppoſite to *Ancona*; this Place they burnt, becauſe it was a Receptacle for Ships that ſailed in the *Adriatic* without paying the Duties required of them. The Army afterwards paſſed the *Alps*, and made themſelves Maſters of *Poſſonia*, a Town on the Borders of *Hungary*. A. D. 1508.

THESE were the Tranſactions in *Friuli*;

A. D. 1508. *Friuli*; but on the Side towards *Trent* the *German* Army was arrived at *Calliano*, a Town rendered famous by the Defeat of the *Venetians* above Twenty Years before near that Place, when *Roberto di Sanſeverino*, a very celebrated General of their Army, was killed. Here they attacked Three Thouſand Foot of the *Venetians*, commanded by *Jacopo Corſo*, *Dionigi di Naldo*, and *Vitello da Città di Caſtello*, who were appointed to guard *Monte Brettonico*; and tho' that Poſt was pretty well fortified, they immediately abandoned it, and fled to a neighbouring Mountain. The *Germans* juſtly deriding the Cowardice of the *Italian* Infantry, after burning many Cottages, and levelling the Trenches on the Side of the Mountain, returned to *Calliano*. Encouraged by this Succeſs, the Biſhop of *Trent*, with Two Thouſand Militia, and Part of the Troops that were at *Calliano*, went and laid Siege to *Riva di Trento*, a Caſtle ſituated on the *Lago di Garda*, in which *Trivulzio* had placed a ſufficient Garriſon, After he had battered the Church of *San Franceſco* for two Days, and in the

Operations of War on the Side of *Trent*.

the mean time made ſome Incurſions into the Villages about *Lodrone*, Two Thouſand *Griſons* that were in the *German* Army, fell into a Mutiny on account of a ſmall Diſpute about their Pay, and plundered the Proviſions of the Camp. Hence every thing falling into Diſorder, and almoſt all the *Griſons* abandoning the Service, the reſt of the Army, conſiſting of Seven Thouſand Men, were obliged to retire. Their Retreat encouraged the *Venetians* to make Incurſions to the neighbouring Places, but Three Thouſand of their Foot going to burn ſome Villages belonging to Count *d' Agreſto*, were put to flight by the Peaſants, and about Three Hundred of them killed. After the Retreat of the *Germans* from *Riva* almoſt all the Troops ſeparated, and the Cavalry, in number Twelve Hundred, retired from their Quarters at *Calliono* to *Trent*. On Eaſter Day in the Morning the *Venetians* made an Attack on *Pietra*, a Place Six Miles diſtant from *Trent*; but the *German* Troops that were in *Trent* coming to relieve it, the *Venetians* retired, and attacked the Caſtle of *Creſta*, a Paſs of Im-

A. D. 1508.

*A. D.* 1508. Importance, which ſurrendered before any Succours from *Trent* could arrive. But the *Germans*, who had re-eſtabliſhed their Infantry, returned with One Thouſand Horſe and Six Thouſand Foot to their Quarters at *Calliano*, which is diſtant a Bow-ſhot from *Pietra*; where Two Hundred Horſe of the Duke of *Wirtemberg* quitted them. The *Venetians*, with Four Thouſand Horſe and Sixteen Thouſand Foot, were come to lay Siege to *Pietra*, and had erected a Battery of Sixteen Pieces of Cannon.

Siege of *Pietra*.

*Pietra* is a Caſtle ſituated at the Foot of a Mountain, on the right hand as you go from *Rovere* to *Trent*. From this Caſtle runs a Wall of ſufficient Strength the Length of a Bow-ſhot, which joins to the Banks of the *Adice*, and has in the Middle a Gate; he that is not Maſter of this Paſs, cannot without Difficulty diſtreſs *Pietra*. The Armies encamped a Mile diſtant from one another, each having in Front the Caſtle and Wall, on one Flank the River *Adice*, on the other Mountains, and at their Back ſecure Places of Retreat. And becauſe the *Germans* were in poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of the Caſtle and Wall, they had it in their Power to force the *Venetian* Army to a Battle whenever they pleaſed, but could not be forced by them to fight. However, being much inferior in Number, they durſt not try the Fortune of the Field, but only attended to the Defence of the Caſtle from the Attack of the Enemy, who plied their Battery againſt it. But one Day obſerving that the Cannon of the Beſiegers were negligently guarded, they took the Opportunity, and making a Sally, furiouſly attacked the Battery, and routing the Foot that guarded it, bravely carried off two Pieces of Cannon. The *Venetians* therefore being diſheartened, and judging that it would be Folly to continue the Siege, in which they had loſt abundance of Men, drew off and retired to *Rovere*. The *Germans* alſo retired to *Trent*, and in a few Days moſt of them diſperſed. The Troops of the Diet, which came ſome quicker, ſome ſlower, and never amounted all together to Four Thouſand effective Men, after they had ſerved out their Six Months, returned to their own Habitations,

A. D. 1508.

A. D. 1508. tions, as did the greater Part of the Militia, which had been raiſed about *Trent*, *Cadoro*, and the adjacent Countries.

MAXIMILIAN was all this while employed in going from Place to Place to make Proviſions for his various Projects, and therefore could not be preſent at theſe Operations. He prorogued the Diet of *Ulm* to a more convenient Seaſon, and overwhelmed with Confuſion, Shame, and Perplexity, took a Progreſs towards *Cologn*, none knowing for ſeveral Days where to find him. He was unable with his own Forces to ſtand the Shock, having loſt all that he had in *Friuli*, with other neighbouring Towns, and found himſelf abandoned by every Body, and in danger of loſing *Trent*, if the *French* had been willing to join the *Venetian* Army, and act offenſively. But *Trivulzio* had Orders from the King, who was determined rather to pacify than provoke the King of the *Romans*, not to carry the military Operations any farther than was neceſſary for the Defence of the *Venetians*.

CÆSAR

*A. D.* 1508.

CÆSAR, in this deſolate State, willing by any means to retrieve his Affairs from their dangerous Situation, had, immediately after the Defeat at *Cadoro*, ſent *Preluca*, one of his Gentlemen, to *Venice*, to demand a Truce for three Months; but his Demand was ſlighted by the Senate, who were not diſpoſed to make a Truce for leſs than a whole Year, nor in any Manner at all unleſs the King of *France* were alſo comprehended in it. But his Diſaſters increaſing, *Trieſte* being loſt, and his Affairs running to Ruin, the Biſhop of *Trent*, as of his own Motion, ſollicited a Truce of the *Venetians*; propoſing it as a Foundation on which, it was to be hoped, they might hereafter eſtabliſh a Peace. The *Venetians* anſwered, that ſince the Affair was not now propoſed as to them alone, but in ſuch a Manner that the King of *France* might be included, they were not averſe to a Negotiation. This favourable Diſpoſition produced a Treaty at *Trent*, where Conferences were held between the Biſhop of that City and *Serentano*, Secretary to *Maximilian* on his part, *Trivulzio*

*Cæſar* demands a Truce of the *Venetians*.

Congreſs at *Trent*.

A. D. 1508. *Triuvlzio* and *Charles Geoffroy*, Preſident of the Senate of *Milan*, this laſt ſent thither by *Chaumont*, on the Part of the King of *France*; and *Zacharia Contarino* the *Venetian* Miniſter. They all eaſily agreed on ſome Articles, as that the Truce required ſhould continue for Three Years; that each Party ſhould keep what he had in poſſeſſion at preſent, with Liberty to build and fortify on the Places each had acquired. But the Difficulty was, that the *French* would have the Peace to be a general one, including the Confederates which each Party had out of *Italy*, and particularly the Duke of *Guelderland*, which was a Point very obſtinately rejected by the Agents of *Maximilian*, who was fully bent on the Deſtruction of that Duke. They pleaded that the War was only in *Italy*, and therefore it was neither fit nor neceſſary to treat of any thing but the Affairs of that Country. The *Venetians* uſed all their Endeavours to procure Satisfaction to the King of *France*, but finding the *Germans* inflexible, they were inclined to accept of the Truce on the Terms to which the other had

had conſented; for they wanted to get rid of a War which was wholly confined to their own Dominions, and they were willing to eſtabliſh themſelves, by means of the Three Years Truce, in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Towns which they had conquered during the Quarrel. They excuſed themſelves to the *French* with a very true Reaſon, which was, that ſince neither of the contracting Parties were obliged to any thing more than a mutual Defence of their States in *Italy*, which indeed was the real Foundation of this Confederacy, it did not belong to the Senate to concern themſelves about ultramontane Dominions, which, as they were not bound to defend with their Arms, they were as little obliged to think of ſecuring by a Truce. In order to end the Controverſy, *Trivulzio* ſent an Expreſs with an Account to *France*, and the *Venetians* to *Venice*. An Anſwer came from the Senate that, if a Truce could not be effected otherwiſe, they ſhould conclude it for *Italy* only, reſerving a Time and Place for the Acceſſion of the King of *France*. But neither *Trivulzio* nor the Preſident would give their Conſent,

*A. D.* 1508.

Truce between *Maximilian* and the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1508. ſent, but made bitter Complaints that a Treaty ſhould be ſigned without ſo much as waiting for the King's Anſwer. The Preſident remonſtrated, that a common Undertaking ought not to be finiſhed but by common Conſent, and complained of the little Reſpect ſhown to the Friendſhip and Alliance of his Sovereign. The *Venetians*, however, were not to be diſſuaded by theſe Remonſtrances from ſigning the Truce with *Maximilian*, the Contract running ſimply in their own proper Names, with an Agreement that, on the Part of *Maximilian* ſhould be named, and taken for included and named, the Pope, the Catholic King, the Kings of *England* and *Hungary*, and all the Princes and Subjects of the Holy Empire in every Place; together with all the Confederates of *Maximilian* and of the forementioned Kings, and States of the Empire which ſhould be named within Three Months; and, on the Part of the *Venetians*, were included the King of *France*, and the Catholic King, with all the Friends and Confederates of the *Venetians*, of the King of *France*, and of the Catholic King,

King, in *Italy* only, and to be named within Three Months. This Truce was agreed to, on the 20th Day of *April*, and very ſpeedily ratified by the King of the *Romans* and the *Venetians*, and they laid down their Arms, giving hopes that *Italy* would for ſome time enjoy the Benefit of this Tranquillity. *A. D.* 1508.

THE Wars now ceaſing by Virtue of the Truce, the King of *France* imagining that the *Florentines* had not been heartily affected to his Intereſt, but rather diſpoſed to take part with *Cæſar*, if he had met with Succeſs in the Beginning of his Undertaking; and being ſenſible that the Ground of their Diſſatisfaction was no other than an extreme Deſire of recovering *Piſa* by any Means, and an angry Reſentment that his Majeſty, paying no Regard to their Devotion and Services, was ſo far from favouring them with his Arms or Authority, that he ſuffered the *Genoeſe*, his Subjects, to aſſiſt the *Piſans*; reſolved to think on ſome Method by which they might obtain their Deſire in an honourable Way. But not forgetting to conſult his

A. D. 1508. own Profit, which was the firſt Point he had in View, and judging that Fear would prevail with them to open their Purſes ſooner than Hope, he diſpatched away *Michele Riccio* to *Florence*, to make his Complaints; repreſenting that he was informed of their having deputed proper Perſons to make an Agreement with *Cæſar*, his Enemy; that, under pretence of laying waſte the Territory of the *Piſans*, they had aſſembled a powerful Army, without any Regard to the Condition of the Times, and the Jealouſies and Dangers in which his Majeſty was then involved; that at ſo critical a Seaſon, and amidſt ſuch great Motions and Preparations, they had always declined to make a full and poſitive Declaration of their Intentions, by which they had given his Majeſty juſt Cauſe to doubt of their Deſigns in making theſe Preparations; that when they were ſollicited by the King to aſſiſt him with their Troops in ſo dangerous a Juncture, they had refuſed him, contrary to his Expectation: That however, from the Love he had conſtantly born to their Republic, and in Remembrance

brance of the Services he had received from them in Times paſt, he was ready to pardon thoſe late Offences, provided only that, in order to remove all Cauſes by which the Peace of *Italy* might be diſturbed, they would not for the future moleſt the *Piſans* without his Conſent. *A. D.* 1508.

To theſe Complaints the *Florentines* made anſwer, that they were induced by Neceſſity to ſend a Deputation to *Cæſar*, not with an Intention to enter into an Agreement with him againſt the King, but from a ſollicitous Concern, in caſe *Maximilian* ſhould make a Deſcent into *Italy*, of ſecuring their own Dominions, which his Majeſty, in the Stipulations he had made with them, would not oblige himſelf to defend againſt *Cæſar*, but had taken care to have expreſly mentioned in them the Clauſe *Saving the Rights of the Empire*; and yet they had entered into no Convention with *Cæſar*: That his Majeſty had no juſt Reaſon to complain of the Army ſent againſt the *Piſans*, for it conſiſted of no more than a moderate Number of Men as uſual, and was ſent

*A. D.* 1508. into the Field with no other Intention than to prevent, as they had frequently done, the Enemies Harveſt, and conſequently could afford no juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion: That this, together with the Aſſiſtances given to the *Piſans* by the *Genoeſe* and other neighbouring States, were the true Reaſons why they had not ſent their Forces to join thoſe of the King; and tho' they were not obliged to do it, yet, out of that conſtant Devotion they bear to his Majeſty's Name, if it had lain in their Power, they would not have omitted to have given him this Teſtimony of their Attachment, even without being aſked: That they were ſurpriſed beyond meaſure that the King ſhould deſire them not to moleſt the *Piſans*, whom in compariſon of the *Florentines* he had no reaſon to love and eſteem, if he pleaſed to remember how they had acted againſt him in the Rebellion of the *Genoeſe*: That his Majeſty could not in Juſtice prohibit them from making War with the *Piſans*, becauſe it was expreſly allowed in the Confederacy they had made with him. From theſe Beginnings aroſe an

Occa-

Occaſion to treat about finding out ſome Means for inducing the *Piſans* to return under the Dominion of the *Florentines*. And it was imagined this might be compaſſed by taking proper Care that the *Genoeſe* and *Luccheſe* ſhould lend them no Succours in their preſent Extremities, when they were diſtreſſed for want of Proviſions, and their Forces ſo weak, that they durſt not any longer venture without the Walls of the City; and their Peaſants, who more numerous than the Citizens, were diſcontented at the Loſs of their Harveſt. And indeed they could not have hitherto ſupported themſelves, had it not been for ſome Supplies of Money from the *Genoeſe* and *Luccheſe*, which thoſe who had the Management of Affairs in *Piſa* diſpoſed of, partly in keeping ſome foreign Soldiers in Pay, and diſtributing the reſt among the reſolute Youth of the Citizens and Peaſants, who by their armed Force ſtruck a Terror into thoſe who deſired an Agreement with the *Florentines*, and by that Means preſerved the City in Peace.

*D. A.* 1508.

Treaty of reſtoring *Piſa* to the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1508. THIS Negotiation, begun by the moſt Chriſtian King, was promoted by the Authority of his Catholic Majeſty, who was jealous of its taking Effect without him. Wherefore as ſoon as he was informed that *Michele Riccio* was ſet out for *Florence*, he diſpatched thither an Ambaſſador, who called firſt at *Piſa*, and in the Name of the King his Maſter, animated and encouraged the Inhabitants to hold out and defend themſelves, expecting by their Obſtinacy in yielding to ſell them at a higher Rate. The Diſcuſſion of the Cauſe was ſoon after, by conſent of both Kings, transferred to the Court of *France*, where his Catholic Majeſty, without any Regard to his Protection ſo often aſſured, earneſtly ſollicited the Concluſion of the Affair. For he knew that *Piſa*, being without Defence, muſt of Neceſſity fall into the Hands of the *Florentines*. Beſides he was not willing to involve himſelf at preſent in new Broils and Contentions, eſpecially without the Approbation of the King of *France*; for tho' he had, immediately on his Arrival in *Spain*, reſumed the

the Government of *Caſtile*, he had not fully eſtabliſhed his Authority, on account of the Diſaffection of ſeveral of the Grandees, and becauſe *Maximilian* had not given his Conſent in the Name of his Nephew. But as for the Affairs of the *Piſans*, after a tedious Negotiation in *France*, many Difficulties ariſing, and each of the two Kings ſeeking to appropriate the Price of the Sale to himſelf, the Treaty broke off without coming to a Reſolution *.

*A. D.* 1508.

Breaks off without Effect.

* The Avarice of the two Kings was the Cauſe that *Piſa* was not reſtored to the *Florentines*, who were, however, prepared to diſburſe the Money if each King had not claimed a greater Share than the other. The Treaty now broke off was afterwards reſumed and brought to a Concluſion on the Fourteenth of *March* in the following Year. *Porcacchi.*

*End of the Seventh Book.*

*Franceſco*

# *Franceſco Guicciardini's*

# HISTORY

## OF

# The WARS in ITALY.

## BOOK VIII.

## THE CONTENTS.

*Reaſons which induced ſeveral Potentates to take up Arms againſt the* Venetians. *League of* Cambray, *and Commencement of the War. Defeat of* Alviano *in the* Ghiaradadda. *Loſs of the* Venetian *Dominions on the* Terra firma. Venetians *humble themſelves to* Cæſar. Piſans *ſubmit to the* Florentines. Venetians *under Conduct of* Gritti *recover* Padoua, *which is afterwards beſieged by* Cæſar. *King of* France *departs out of* Italy. *War in* Friuli; *and againſt* Ferrara, *in which the* Venetian *Armament under the Conduct of* Triviſano *is routed on the River* Po.

Cæſar

Cæſar *and the King of* Caſtile *enter into a Convention.* Venetians *abſolved by the Pope from their Interdict.* A. D. 1508.

THE Diſorders of *Italy* were of ſuch a Nature, and her Strength ſo much exhauſted, as not to be recovered by ſlight Remedies, For as it often happens, in Bodies abounding with corrupt Humours, that a Medicine prepared for removing the Diſtempers of one Part, generates others of a more malignant and dangerous Nature; ſo the Truce made between the King of the *Romans* and the *Venetians*, inſtead of producing that Quiet and Tranquillity which many thought they had reaſon to expect, gave Birth to innumerable Calamities that overwhelmed the miſerable *Italians*, and was the Cauſe of more atrocious and much more bloody Wars than the paſſed. For tho' ſo many Wars and Revolutions had happened in *Italy* during the laſt Fourteen Years, yet the Diſputes being often terminated without Blood, or moſtly at the Expence of the Lives of the Barbarians engaged in them, the People ſuffered

*A. D.* 1508. suffered leſs than their Princes. But now a Door being opened to new Contentions, there followed a Train of miſchievous and cruel Events, which overſpread the Face of *Italy*, and affected the *Italians* themſelves, who ſaw nothing but Scenes of infinite Slaughter, Plunder, and the Deſtruction of Multitudes of Towns and Cities, attended with military Licentiouſneſs, no leſs deſtructive to Friends than Foes, and a Violation of Religion, and a Trampling on Things ſacred with leſs Reverence and Reſpect than was ſhown to profane.

Miſerable State of *Italy*.

THE Cauſe of ſo many Calamities, if you conſider it in general, was, as it commonly is, the covetous and reſtleſs Ambition of Princes: But, in a particular View, they had their Original from the *Venetian* Senate, who by their Conduct removed the Difficulties that had hitherto ſuſpended the Reſolutions of the King of the *Romans* and the King of *France* from agreeing together againſt them. One of theſe Princes they had exaſperated beyond meaſure, and made him quite deſperate; in

in the other they had excited moſt bitter Reſentments, or at leaſt had furniſhed him with an Opportunity of diſcovering, under a Colour of Juſtice, what he had long meditated to put in execution. *Cæſar*, ſtimulated by the great Diſgrace brought upon his Arms, and by the Loſs he had received, when, inſtead of making Conqueſts of the States of others, he had loſt a Part of his own hereditary Dominions, was for leaving no Means untried for retrieving ſo great a Diſhonour, and repairing ſo conſiderable a Damage. And he was confirmed in this Diſpoſition, after the Truce was made, by the imprudent Conduct of the *Venetians*, who could not forbear to provoke him by vain Parades as well as Actions; for they received *Alviano*, on his Return to *Venice*, with the greateſt Pomp, and as it were in Triumph *. The King of *France*, who had at firſt given hopes of his ratifying the A. D. 1508.

* *Cornaro* and *Alviano*, on their Return, were received on board of the *Buccentaur*, a large Ship, an Honour never ſhown but to Princes, with the greateſt Feſtival and Rejoicings. *Alviano* had a Grant of *Pordonone*, and was created a Nobleman of *Venice*. *Cornaro* held many Feaſts in his Houſe, and entertained all Comers. *Bembo*.

A. D. 1508. the Truce, was found to be afterwards ſtrangely altered. He complained that the *Venetians* had preſumed to nominate and include him as an Adherent, and, after providing for their own Repoſe, had left him involved in the Troubles of the War.

THESE Diſpoſitions of the two Princes began in a ſhort time to manifeſt themſelves: For *Cæſar*, not truſting in his own Strength, and entertaining no further Hopes that the Princes and People of *Germany* would ſhew an effectual Reſentment of his Injuries, was inclined to join with the King of *France* againſt the *Venetians*, as the only Way to recover his loſt Reputation and Territories. And that King, in whom his new Reſentment had revived the Memory of the Injuries which he pretended he had received from the *Venetians* in the *Neapolitan* War, and who was alſo ſtimulated by his conſtant Deſire of recovering *Cremona* and the other Towns which had long been in the Poſſeſſion of the Dukes of *Milan*, had the ſame Inclination. In order therefore to

to remove all Impediment ariſing from Matters of leſſer Moment, which might tend to obſtruct their joint Attention to Affairs of much greater Concern, they began to treat about compoſing the Differences between the Archduke and the Duke of *Guelderland*, for whoſe Safety the King of *France*, on account of an antient Alliance, and of Benefits received, made ſtrenuous Inſtances. This Diſpoſition of the King was further animated againſt the *Venetians* by the Pope, who, beſides old Offences, was incenſed at a new Affront received from them. For it was by their Procurement, as he pretended, that the Exiles of *Forli*, who had taken up their Reſidence in *Faenza*, had made an Attempt to enter that City; and the Family of the *Bentivogli*, whom the King had driven out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, were harboured in the *Venetian* Dominions. To which it might be added that, in many Caſes, they had ſhown leſs Reſpect than ever to the Authority of the Court of *Rome*, by which Proceeding they had highly diſturbed the Mind of the Pope: That his Holineſs having conferred

A. D. 1508.

*A. D.* 1508. ferred the Biſhoprick of *Vicenza*, vacant by the Death of the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola* his Nephew, on *Sixtus*, another of his Nephews, whom he promoted to the Dignity of Cardinal, with the ſame Benefices, the *Venetian* Senate, deſpiſing this Collation, had elected for Biſhop of that See a Nobleman of *Venice*, who, when the Pope had refuſed to confirm him, had the Aſſurance to ſtile himſelf Biſhop of *Vicenza*, elected by the moſt excellent Council of the *Pregadi*. The Pope being highly incenſed at ſuch Proceedings, firſt diſpatched to the King one *Maxime*, Secretary to the Cardinal of *Narbonne*, and afterwards that Cardinal himſelf, who lately by the Death of the Cardinal of *Aus* ſucceeding him in his Biſhopric, was called the Cardinal of *Aus*. The King granted them a very favourable Audience, and diſmiſſed them with various Schemes, which his Holineſs was to execute, either in conjunction with *Cæſar*, or elſe without him. But the Pope was more ready to make Complaints than to take Reſolutions: On one Side he was urged by his ardent Deſire to take up Arms

Arms againſt the *Venetians*; on the other he was reſtrained by his Fear of becoming too ſervile a Dependent on the Greatneſs of other Princes, but much more by his old Jealouſy conceived againſt the Cardinal of *Rouen*, which made him very uneaſy at the March of ſuch powerful Bodies of the King's Forces into *Italy*; and other Incidents contributed to leſſen the Confidence between the Pope and the King, for his Holineſs having but a little before, without his Majeſty's Knowledge, diſpoſed of the Biſhopricks of *Aſti* and *Piacenza*, the King refuſed to ſuffer the new Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, on whom *Julius* had conferred the very rich Abbey of *Chiaravalle*, in the Neighbourhood of *Milan*, to take poſſeſſion of it. A. D. 1508.

In theſe Difficulties, tho' the Pope could not prevail on himſelf to take any Reſolution, yet *Cæſar* and the King of *France* came at laſt to a final Determination. Theſe Princes, who had been treating together, in the moſt ſecret manner, againſt the *Venetians*, appointed a Congreſs in the City of *Cambray*, to put

A. D. 1508. the laſt Hand to the Treaty. There appeared, on the Part of *Cæſar*, his Daughter *Margaret*, Governeſs of *Flanders* and of the other States that had deſcended to *Philip* in right of his Mother; ſhe was attended by *Matteo Lango*, a moſt truſty Secretary of *Cæſar*, who was to aſſiſt her with his Counſel; and on the Part of the King of *France* the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who pretended that this Congreſs was held for treating of a Peace between the Archduke and the Duke of *Guelderland*, between whom they had made a Truce for Forty Days, taking the utmoſt Care that the true Reaſon ſhould not come to the Knowledge of the *Venetians*, to whoſe Miniſters the Cardinal gave Aſſurances, with moſt ſolemn Oaths, that his King would continue in his Confederacy with them *. The Cardinal was followed by the Ambaſſador of the King of *Aragon*, his Eminence rather not forbidding than permitting his Attendance. For tho' that King had been the firſt Mover of theſe Ne-

* *Bembo* writes, that it was the King himſelf that ſeveral times gave his Word of Honour to the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, that nothing was negotiating in *Cambray* againſt the *Venetians*.

Negotiations between *Cæſar* and the King of *France*, yet they had been afterwards carried on without his Participation, both Parties perſuading themſelves that the Proſperity of the King of *France* would be an Eyeſore to him, and that any Increaſe of *Cæſar*'s Power would afford him Matter of Jealouſy with reſpect to his Government of *Caſtile*, and that therefore his Sentiments in this Affair would by no means correſpond with his Words. At *Cambray* they came, in a very few Days, to an ultimate Reſolution, without communicating any of the Particulars to the Ambaſſador of the Catholic King, till the whole was concluded; and the Day after, which was the Tenth of *December*, with ſolemn Ceremonies, and by the Oaths of Madame *Marguerite*, the Cardinal of *Rouen*, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Treaty was confirmed. All the Information they thought fit to give the Public on this Head was, that the Pope and every one of the contracting Princes had entered into an Obligation of perpetual Peace and Alliance between themſelves. But the more ſecret Articles

A. D. 1508.

A. D. 1508. contained Matters of the higheſt Importance, had in them a Spirit of Ambition, and were in many Parts contrary to the Agreement which *Cæſar* and the King of *France* had made with the *Venetians*. And, as if it were poſſible by the Diverſity of Words to alter the Nature of Facts, theſe Articles had the ſpecious Cover of a very pious Preamble; in which was repreſented the common Deſire of the Parties to commence a War againſt the Enemies of the Name of Chriſt, and the Impediments that were thrown in their Way by the *Venetians*, by their ſeizing upon the Lands of the Church. In order to remove thoſe Hindrances, that they might afterwards proceed conjointly on ſo holy and neceſſary an Expedition, by the Exhortations and Counſels of the Pope, the Cardinal of *Rouen*, as Proxy of his Holineſs, and by his Orders, and by Orders of the King of *France*, having had alſo the King of *France*'s Credentials; Madame *Marguerite*, as Proxy, and by Orders, of the King of the *Romans*, and as Governeſs of the Archduke and of the States of *Flanders*; and the Ambaſſador of

of the King of *Aragon*, as Proxy, and by the Orders of the King his Maſter, had entered into a Convention to make War upon the *Venetians*. A. D. 1508.

THE Articles of the Treaty were as follows: That each Party might recover his Rights that were in their Poſſeſſion; namely, the Pope, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Ravenna*, and *Cervia*; for the King of the *Romans*, *Padoua*, *Vicenza*, and *Verona*, which appertained to him as Emperor, and *Friuli* and *Trevigi*, which belonged to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; the King of *France*, *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*, *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*; and the King of *Aragon*, the Towns and Ports that had been mortgaged to the *Venetians* by *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*. That the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould go to the War in Perſon, and open the Campaign on the Firſt Day of *April* next, at which Time alſo the Pope and the Catholic King would begin the Operations on their Side. And that *Ceſar* might have a juſt Cauſe not to obſerve the Truce between him and the Articles of the League of *Cambray*.

A. D. 1508. *Venetians*, the Pope ſhould demand his Aſſiſtance as Protector of the Church, after which Demand *Cæſar* ſhould ſend him at leaſt one General, and ſhould be bound, within Forty Days after the King of *France* had begun the War, to attack the *Venetian* Dominions in Perſon. Whenever any of the Confederates had recovered what belonged to him, he ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt the reſt till they were alſo reſtored to the entire Poſſeſſion of their Rights. All the Parties were obliged to defend one another in the Poſſeſſion of their recovered Lands, if they were afterwards moleſted by the *Venetians*, with whom it was not lawful for any Particular to enter into an Agreement but by common Conſent. Within Three Months might be named the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, or whoever elſe that had Pretenſions upon the *Venetians* for detaining any Part of their Lands; and the Perſons, after Nomination, were to enjoy all the Benefits of the Confederacy, as well as the principal Parties, and might employ their own Force to recover what they had loſt. The Pope was to admoniſh the

the *Venetians*, under the moſt grievous Pains and Cenſures, to reſtore all that was uſurped from the Church, and was to be Judge of the Differences between *Blanche Marie*, Wife of the King of the *Romans*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, on account of the Inheritance of *Anne* her Siſter, the Duke's Wife. *Cæſar* was to inveſt the King of *France*, for himſelf, for *Francis d' Angouleſme*, and their Male-Deſcendants, with the Dutchy of *Milan*, for which Inveſtiture the King was to pay Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats. Neither *Cæſar* nor the Archduke might during the War, nor within Six Months afterwards, undertake any thing againſt the Catholic King on account of the Government and Titles of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*. The Pope was to uſe his Exhortations to the King of *Hungary* to enter into the preſent Confederacy. Every one of the Parties was within Four Months to name his Allies, and any Friends, except the *Venetians*, or the Subjects of thoſe who held any Fief of any one of the Confederates: And each of the principal contracting Parties was A. D. 1508.

*A. D.* 1508. to ratify this Treaty within Sixty Days next enſuing. This general Agreement was attended with a particular one between the Archduke and the Duke of *Guelderland*, in which it was ſtipulated that the Towns taken in the preſent War from the Archduke ſhould be reſtored, but without any mention of thoſe which were taken from the Duke.

THE new Confederacy being thus ſettled, and every thing relating to the *Venetians* kept as ſecret as poſſible, the Cardinal of *Rouen* ſet out the next Day from *Cambray*, having firſt diſpatched away to *Cæſar* the Biſhop of *Paris*, and *Alberto Pio*, Count of *Carpi*, to receive of him the Ratification in the Name of the King of *France*. That Prince gave his Ratification without Delay, and confirmed it with his Oath, with the ſame Solemnities as had been obſerved in the Publication of it in the Church of *Cambray*.

Treaty ratified by *Maximilian*.

IT is certain that this Confederacy, with all that is recorded in the Act concerning the Intervention and Orders of the

the Pope and the King of *Aragon*, was done without their Orders or Conſent, *Cæſar* and the moſt Chriſtian King having perſuaded themſelves that they would after give their Conſent, partly for their own Intereſt and partly on account of the preſent Situation of Affairs, it not being likely that either of them would preſume to reſiſt their Authority, and eſpecially the King of *Aragon*. That Prince was by no means pleaſed with this Confederacy, for being apprehenſive of the immoderate Increaſe of Power in the King of *France*, he preferred the Security of what he enjoyed in the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Recovery of that Part of it held by the *Venetians*, yet he laboured, by his ready Compliance, to make an outward Show of what was contrary to his inward Sentiments, and immediately ratified with the ſame Solemnities. The Pope was in greater Doubt and Perplexity, as he had Strugglings within himſelf, according to Cuſtom, on one Side from his Deſire to recover the Towns of *Romagna* and his Reſentments againſt the *Venetians*; on the other, from his Fears of the King

A. D. 1508.

of

*A. D.* 1508. of *France*, beſides his Apprehenſions of the Dangers that would accrue to himſelf and the Apoſtolic See from extending the Power of *Cæſar* in *Italy*. He thought it better, therefore, to obtain Part of what he wanted by Agreement, than the Whole by entering into a War. With this Deſign he attempted to induce the *Venetian* Senate to reſtore to him *Rimini* and *Faenza*; repreſenting to them that the Dangers which hung over their Heads from the Confederacy of ſo many Princes would be greatly increaſed by his Acceſſion to the League, as he could not then refuſe to perſecute them both with ſpiritual and temporal Arms. But if they would reſtore the Towns they had raviſhed from the Church ſince the Time of his Pontificate, by which his Honour had ſo much ſuffered, he ſhould have juſt Reaſon to refuſe ratifying what had been tranſacted in his Name, but without his Conſent. And if the pontifical Authority were once removed, the Confederacy, which had laboured under many Difficulties, of itſelf would ſoon diſſolve and come to nothing. Thus in com-

Pope's Offers to the *Venetians.*

complying they might depend on his employing his Authority and utmoſt Care for preventing the Increaſe of the Power of the Barbarians in *Italy*, which was no leſs dangerous to the Apoſtolic See than to the other States *. *A. D.* 1508.

ON this Demand of the Pope the *Venetian* Senate held ſeveral Councils, in which ſome of the Members judged it a Point of the greateſt Importance to ſeperate *Julius* from the reſt of the Confederates; others thought it a mean and unworthy Step, and not ſufficient to prevent the War. But the Opinion of thoſe who gave the ſoundeſt and wiſeſt Advice would at length have prevailed, if *Domenico*

* The Pope not only ſtood in fear of the King of *France* but alſo of the *Germans*, who, as ſoon as they had overcome the *Venetians*, he did not doubt, would bring him under their Yoke. His Holineſs made this Demand of the *Venetians* by *Conſtantino Cominato*, an Enemy to the *French*, who went one Night to the *Venetian* Ambaſſador *Bodoaro*, and acquainting him with the Treaty between the Kings, offered the Pope's Aſſiſtance if the Senate would reſtore *Rimini* and *Faenza*; to which the Ambaſſador anſwered, That the Republic would not give her Conſent. The Pope himſelf afterwards tried the Ambaſſador *Piſano*, who had the Incivility to make his Holineſs the ſame Anſwer. *Bembo*.

A. D. 1508. *nico Treviſano*, a Perſon of the greateſt Weight and Character in *Venice*, and one of the Procurators of *San Marco*, which is a Poſt of the greateſt Honour next to that of Doge, had not ſtood up, and offered many Reaſons, enforced with great Eloquence, to perſuade them that it was much below the Dignity, and contrary to the Intereſt of their moſt renowned and reſpectable Republic, to reſtore the Towns demanded by the Pope; he ſaid their Dangers could not be much increaſed by his Conjunction with the Confederates, nor leſſened by his Separation from them. For tho', in order to make their Cauſe appear leſs diſhonourable, the Allies had, in their Convention, uſed the Name of the Pope, they had in effect agreed without him, ſo that they would not, on that Account, become the ſlower or cooler in the Execution of their Reſolutions. Nor, on the other hand, were the Arms of the Pontiff of ſuch Value as to deſerve purchaſing their Aſſiſtance at ſo dear a Rate, if it be conſidered that whenever they ſhall be attacked by the other Confederates, a moderate Garriſon will be ſufficient

Speech of *Domenico Traviſano*

cient to defend theſe Cities, which the cowardly Troops of the Church, proverbially called the Scandal of the Military, will neither be able to conquer without Help, nor any other Way contribute in the leaſt to the Deciſion of the War. And amidſt the Noiſe and Fervor of temporal Arms, the Reverence and Threats of ſpiritual Weapons were not regarded; nor was there any Reaſon to fear that they would hurt them more in this War than in many others, and particularly in their War againſt *Ferrara*, in which they proved of no Service for preventing them from obtaining a Peace honourable to themſelves and diſgraceful to the reſt of *Italy*, which had with ſo great an Unanimity combined together againſt them, and at the Time when it flouriſhed in Riches, Arms, and military Courage. And they had now juſt Reaſon to expect the ſame, for it was not at all probable that the great God would ſuffer the Effects of his Mercy and Severity, of his Pleaſure and Anger, to lie in the Diſpoſal of a proud and ambitious Man, addicted to Wine, and many other Indecencies,

A. D. 1508.

A. D. 1508. cencies, to be diſpenſed according to the Dictates of his unruly Paſſions, without any Regard to Juſtice, or to the common Welfare of Chriſtianity. That if no greater Dependence could be laid on Sacerdotal Faith in this Pontificate, than in many others, he did not ſee what Certainty they had that when *Faenza* and *Rimini* were ſurrendered the Pope would not join the Confederates for the ſake of recovering *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, having no more Regard for his Faith than what properly belongs to the Pontiffs, who, in order to juſtify their Proceedings, among other Laws, have eſtabliſhed it as a ſtanding Rule, that the Church, in ſpite of all Contracts, Promiſes, or Benefits received, has a Power to retract, and directly contravene the Obligations to which its Prelates have ſolemnly bound themſelves. *Maximilian* and the King of *France* indeed entered into the Confederacy with great Ardor, but the Inclinations of the reſt of the Allies were otherwiſe diſpoſed. For the Catholic King adhered to the League with Reluctance, and the Pope began to ſhew Signs of his wonted Irreſolution

A. D. 1508.

resolution and Suspicions. They had therefore no more Reason to be afraid of the League of *Cambray*, than they had of that other which *Maximilian* and *Lewis* had, with the same Ardor, concluded at *Trent*, and afterwards at *Blois*; for many Difficulties, in their own Nature almost unsurmountable, might obstruct the Execution of what they had resolved. The principal Care and Business of this Senate therefore is, by all means, to separate *Cæsar* from this Confederacy, which we have good Grounds to hope may be effected with Ease, considering his Nature, his Necessities, and his inveterate and fixed Aversion to the *French*. And when once they had got him to break off from the Alliance, all Fears of a War would vanish; for the King of *France*, when abandoned by *Maximilian*, will no more dare to attack them than he has done in Times past *. In

* To detach *Cæsar* from the Confederacy of *Cambray* was attempted by means of *Pietro Stella*, but the *French* Ambassadors prevented it. *Leonardo Porti* was afterwards ordered to make a fresh Essay for that Purpose; but *Maximilian* demanding Conditions dishonourable to the Republic, nothing further was done. *Bembo*.

A. D. 1508. In all public Affairs the Beginnings are diligently to be conſidered, becauſe afterwards it will be out of our Power to depart from Reſolutions once taken, and in which we have a long time perſevered, without the greateſt Hazard and Diſgrace. Their Anceſtors as well as themſelves had ever been attentive to all Opportunities of enlarging their Empire, and openly profeſſed that they always aſpired at greater Power. By this Conduct they were become odious to all, ſome fearing their Power, others grieved on account of what had been taken from them. That this Hatred would probably produce ſome great Change, was known long ago, but did not at that time deter them from embracing Opportunities as they offered. Nor can it now be a proper Remedy, in the preſent Danger, to begin with yielding up Part of what they poſſeſſed, ſince it was not to be doubted that ſuch a Ceſſion, inſtead of ſatisfying, would but inflame the Malice of their Adverſaries, who would grow bolder at their Timidity. For as it has been a ſettled Opinion, of many Years ſtanding amongſt the *Italians*, that

that the *Venetian* Senate never part with any Thing that once falls into their Hands, who is there that will not be ſenſible, that to act the contrary and cowardly Part muſt proceed from the utmoſt Deſpair of making any Defence againſt theſe imminent Dangers? To reſolve upon yielding any Place, tho' never ſo ſmall, would be a Diminution of the Reputation and antient Splendor of their Republic. Hence Dangers muſt increaſe at a vaſt Rate; for it is more difficult, without compariſon, for him who has once begun to decline, and give way to his Adverſary to ſtop the Current, and preſerve what remains even from leſſer Dangers, than for another to maintain himſelf in his Rank and Dignity who, without betraying the leaſt Intention to yield, makes a vigorous Stand againſt thoſe who ſeek to oppreſs him. Hence it will be neceſſary either at once ſcornfully to reject the firſt Demands, or by conſenting to expect that they will be followed by many others, which muſt be ſatisfied, whence muſt enſue, in a very ſhort time, the Subverſion of this Empire, and conſequently A. D. 1508.

A. D. 1508. ſequently the Loſs of their preſent Liberty. The *Venetian* Republic had in the Days of their Fathers, and in their own Times, been engaged in very burdenſome Wars with Chriſtian Princes, and by conſtantly maintaining a Firmneſs and Generoſity of Soul, had brought them to a very glorious Iſſue. Under the preſent Difficulties, even tho' they ſhould perhaps appear to be greater, they ought to hope for the ſame Succeſs. For now both their Power and Authority were greater than ever, and in the Wars of many Potentates united againſt one, the Terror is generally greater than the Effects, becauſe the firſt Ardor and Impetuoſity ſoon begins to cool, and a Diverſity of Opinions, which muſt ariſe between them, creates a mutual Diſtruſt of one another. This Senate had alſo Reaſon to truſt that, beſides the Proviſions and Remedies which they could furniſh of themſelves, God, the moſt juſt Judge, would not forſake a Republic founded and ſubſiſting in perpetual Liberty, which was the Ornament and Splendor of *Europe*; nor permit that the Ambition of Princes,

Princes, under a falſe Colour of preparing War againſt the Infidels, ſhould glory in the Ruins of that City, which had, with ſuch Piety and Religion, been, for ſo many Years, the Defence and Bulwark of the whole Chriſtian Commonwealth. A. D. 1508.

THIS Speech of *Domenico Treviſano* had a wonderful Effect on the Minds of the Majority, and, as it had frequently happened of late Years, ſo now, by a ſort of Fatality which attended that Senate, contrary to the Opinion of many Senators of great Prudence and Authority, the worſt Counſel was embraced and followed. The Pope therefore, who had delayed to ratify the League till the laſt Day, now ſigned it, but with an expreſs Declaration, that it was his Intent to commit no Act of Hoſtility againſt the *Venetians*, till the King of *France* had himſelf begun the War. Pope ratifies the League.

THUS ended the Year 1508, in which the Seeds of mighty Wars were plentifully ſown. At the ſame Time the Affairs of the *Piſans* were greatly diſtreſſed,

A. D. 1569. and every Day involved in greater Difficulties. For the *Florentines*, beſides depriving them of their Harveſt in the preceding Summer, and continually ſcouring the Country with their Troops home to the very Gates of *Piſa*, had, in order to prevent all Supplies of Proviſions by Sea, hired the Son of *Bardella* of *Porto Venere*, with ſome Veſſels, to cruiſe along the Coaſt. Hence the *Piſans*, being in a manner beſieged by Sea and Land, and, by reaſon of their Poverty, incapable of hiring any Ships or foreign Soldiers, and but ſlowly aſſiſted by their Neighbours, had almoſt loſt all Hopes of ſupporting themſelves. The *Genoeſe* and *Luccheſe*, being moved with their Diſtreſs, took a Reſolution to revive their Hopes, by conveying into *Piſa* a large Quantity of Corn, which being put on board of a great Number of Barks, under Convoy of two *Genoeſe* Ships and two Galeons arrived at *Spetie*, and from thence at *Viareggio*, from whence it was, by the Direction of the *Piſans*, to be conveyed in fourteen Brigantines, and a Number of Lighters into *Piſa*. But the *Florentines*

*tines* were reſolved to oppoſe this Enterpriſe, for on the Succeſs or Miſcarriage of this Convoy of Corn depended their Hope or Deſpair of being Maſters of *Piſa* this Year. For this Purpoſe they reinforced their Fleet with an *Engliſh* Ship, which happened to lie in the Port of *Livorno*, and with ſome other Sloops and Brigantines; then in order to aſſiſt, as much as poſſible, their naval Armament in its Operations with their Land Forces, they ordered all the Horſe and a good Number of Foot, ſuddenly got together from their Dominions, to repair to all thoſe Parts, by which the Veſſels of the Enemy might enter the *Arno*, either by its Mouth, or by the Mouth of the dead River, and ſo make their Way up to *Piſa*. The Enemy's Fleet proceeded to the Mouth of the *Arno*, but the Ships of the *Florentines* being drawn up between the Mouth of that and the dead River, and their Land Forces having poſſeſſed themſelves of all the convenient Poſts, and planted Cannon on the Banks of all Parts of the River by which they were to paſs, the Enemy judged it impracticable to

A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. proceed any further, and retired to the *Riviera* of *Genoa*, after loſing three of their Brigantines laden with Corn. This Succeſs ſeeming to promiſe a ſpeedy Reduction of *Piſa* for want of Victuals, the *Florentines*, the more effectually to prevent all Supplies of Proviſions from paſſing up the River, laid a wooden Bridge over the *Arno*, and fortified it with a Redoubt at each End. At the ſame time, to deprive the *Piſans* of all Aſſiſtance from their Neighbours, they made an Agreement with the *Luccheſe*, having firſt, in order to repreſs the Audacioufneſs of that People, detached Part of their Troops from *Caſcina*, with Orders to Plunder the Port of *Viareggio*, and the Magazines, in which were a great Quantity of Silks belonging to the Merchants of *Lucca*. The *Luccheſe*, terrified at this rough Proceeding, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Florence*, who at laſt came to this Agreement, That between the two Republics there ſhould be a League defenſive for three Years, in which the *Luccheſe* were expreſly excluded from the Liberty of giving any Manner of Aſſiſtance

ance to the *Piſans*. This Confederacy, if the *Florentines* ſhould recover *Piſa* in the Space of one Year, was declared to be prolonged for other twelve Years: That during this Confederacy the *Florentines* ſhould not, without Prejudice however to their Rights, moleſt the *Lucchese* in the Poſſeſſion of *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*. *A. D.* 1509.

League between the *Florentines* and *Lucchese*.

But what was of much greater Moment for facilitating the Acquiſition of *Piſa*, was the Capitulation made by the *Florentines* with their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic Majeſties, which, in a Negotiation that laſted many Months, had met with many Difficulties on the part of the *Florentines*, who were apprehenſive, from Experience of what had paſt, that it was only deſigned as an Expedient to draw from them a large Sum of Money, and then leave the Affairs of the *Piſans* upon the ſame Footing; on the other hand, the King of *France* interpreted this Delay as artfully procured by the *Florentines*, in hopes that the *Piſans*, whoſe Extremities were very well known, would

Treaty between the Kings of *France* and *Aragon* and the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1509. ſurrender of themſelves. And as he did not deſign that they ſhould by any means recover *Piſa* without paying him a Reward, he had commanded *Bardella*, who was his Subject, to quit the Service of the *Florentines*, and ordered *Chaumont* to ſend Six Hundred Lances from *Milan* to the Aſſiſtance of the *Piſans*. But now all Doubts and Difficulties being removed, an Agreement was concluded on the following Conditions.

Articles of the Treaty. THAT neither the King of *France* nor the King of *Aragon* ſhould grant any Favour or Aſſiſtance to the *Piſans*, but take effectual Care that no Proviſions, nor Supplies of Money, Troops, or any other Neceſſaries ſhould be ſent to *Piſa*, from the Places in ſubjection to them, or from their Confederates, or from thoſe under their Protection: That the *Florentines*, in Caſe they ſhould recover *Piſa* within the Year next enſuing, ſhould pay at certain Times, to each of the two Kings, Fifty Thouſand Ducats; and in that Caſe a League was declared to ſubſiſt between the Parties for three Years, to com-

commence from the Day of the Recovery, by which the *Florentines* ſhould be obliged to furniſh Three Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of the States of the two Kings in *Italy*; and, on the other hand, each of thoſe Monarchs on Demand ſhould ſupply them with at leaſt Three Hundred Men at Arms for their own Defence. To theſe Articles, which concerned all the Parties, it was neceſſary that ſome new Obligation ſhould be added, without the Knowledge of the Catholic King, by which the *Florentines* were bound to pay the King of *France*, at times, and on the ſame Conditions as aforeſaid, Fifty Thouſand Ducats more; beſides which they were brought under a Promiſe to preſent the Miniſters of the two Kings with Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats, the greateſt Part of which was to be diſtributed at the Diſcretion of the Cardinal of *Rouen*.

A. D. 1509.

THIS Agreement was indeed very expenſive to the *Florentines*, but univerſally reputed very diſhonourable to thoſe Kings, one of whom was induced by Money to abandon

*A. D.* 1509. abandon a City which he had oftentimes acknowledged he had received into his Protection, and of which, as it appeared afterward, the Great Captain, in its voluntary Surrender, had accepted the Dominion in his Name; the other, forgeting all his former Engagements, ſo often repeated to the *Florentines*, either ſold the juſt Liberty of the *Piſans* for a vile Price, or conſtrained the *Florentines* to purchaſe of him the Liberty to recover what juſtly belonged to them. So great is the Power of Gold in our Days as to outweigh all Regard to Honour and Decency.

*French Preparations againſt the Venetians.*

BUT the Affairs of the *Piſans*, which formerly uſed to attract the Eyes of all *Italy*, were at this Juncture but little regarded, the Attention of the Public being engaged in the expectation of greater Events. For the League of *Cambray* being ratified by all the Confederates, the King of *France* began to make vaſt Preparations. And tho' he had not as yet proceeded to Proteſts and Menaces of War, the Affair however could no longer be

be diſſembled, and therefore the Cardinal of *Rouen*, before the whole Council, complained to the *Venetian* Ambaſſador in ſtrong Terms, that their Senate, deſpiſing their League with the King, and his Friendſhip, had fortified the Abbey of *Ceretto* in the Territory of *Crema*, in which Place there had been formerly a Fortreſs, which was demoliſhed by the Articles of the Peace concluded in the Year 1454 between the *Venetians* and *Franceſco Sforza* the then Duke of *Milan*, with a Condition that the *Venetians* ſhould never hereafter erect any Fortification there; to the Articles of which the Peace made between them and the King did refer in this and in many other Particulars. The King of *France* a few Days after arrived at *Lions*, his Troops were already on their March to paſs the Mountains, and Six Thouſand *Swiſs* in his Pay were preparing to make a Deſcent at the ſame time into *Italy*. To theſe his own Forces was added the Aſſiſtance of others. From the *Genoeſe* he was furniſhed with four Ships; of the *Florentines* he got Fifty Thouſand Ducats, in part of what would be-

*A. D.* 1503.

A. D. 1509 become payable after the Acquiſition of *Piſa*. The Dutchy of *Milan*, where the Inhabitants longed for the Reſtoration of their Towns that were in the Poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*, made him a Preſent of One Hundred Thouſand Ducats, and a Multitude of Gentlemen and Fiefholders of that State provided themſelves with Horſes and Arms, and formed a Body ſplendidly equipped for attending the King's Perſon to the War.

*Venetians prepare for their Defence.*

ON the other ſide the *Venetians*, with a great deal of Spirit and Reſolution, prepared for reſiſting the Force of ſuch formidable Enemies, employing their Money and Authority, and exerting the whole Strength of the State in making Proviſions worthy of ſo great a Republic. And they proceeded with the more Alacrity, as it was very probable that if they could ſuſtain the Brunt of the firſt Attack, the ill-compacted Union of theſe Princes would eaſily fall aſunder and diſſolve. And, to the immortal Glory of the Senate it muſt be ſpoken, that the ſame Ardor for Defence appeared in thoſe Members who had

had before counſelled them, tho' in vain, to take better Meaſures, and to uſe their proſperous Fortune with Moderation, as in thoſe who had been Authors of the contrary Advice. For preferring the Good of the Public to private Ambition, they were not ſollicitous to increaſe their own Authority by reproaching their Brethren with their pernicious Counſels, nor did they oppoſe thoſe Remedies which were uſed for removing the Dangers that had been occaſioned by the Imprudence of others. And conſidering that almoſt all Chriſtendom was in Arms againſt them, they unanimouſly uſed their utmoſt Efforts to break ſo formidable a Union. Repenting, therefore, that they had deſpiſed the Opportunity of ſeparating the Pontiff from the Confederacy, and entertaining good Hopes that he would be contented with the Reſtitution of *Faenza* alone, they revived their Negotiations with his Holineſs, and would have entered on new Treaties with *Cæſar* and the Catholic King. But as for the King of *France*, either out of Hatred, or Deſpair of making any Impreſſion upon him, A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. him, they did not offer to treat with him. But the Pope was no longer at Liberty to accept what he had at firſt deſired, and the Catholic King, tho' perhaps he wanted not Inclination, had it not in his Power to turn the others. And *Cæſar* had conceived ſuch an implacable Hatred againſt the Name of the *Venetians*, and was ſo far from coming to an Agreement, that he would not ſo much as hear their Offers, and refuſed to admit *Giampiero Stella*, their Secretary, deputed to him as Plenipotentiary, into his Preſence.

THE *Venetians* therefore employed all their Thoughts in providing for their Defence by Arms, for which Purpoſe they made great Levies of Horſe and Foot in every Quarter, and fitted out great Numbers of Ships and ſmaller Veſſels for guarding the Coaſts of *Romagna* and the Towns of *Puglia*, and to command the Lake of *Garda* and the *Po*, with other neighbouring Places and Rivers, by which they apprehended ſome Moleſtation from the Duke of *Ferrara* and the Marquis of *Mantoua*. But beſides the Menaces of human

human Powers, they were alarmed with a Multitude of Accidents, either fatal or fortuitous. A Thunderbolt fell upon the Caſtle of *Breſcia*; a Bark ſent by the Senate with Money to *Ravenna* ſunk with Ten Thouſand Ducats. The Archive, a Building full of Records relating to the Republic, on a ſudden fell entirely to the Ground. But what put them all in the greateſt Conſternation was, that on a Day, and at the very Hour when the great Council was aſſembled, either by Chance or Treachery, a Fire broke out in the Arſenal, in the Room where the Salt-petre was kept, and tho' an infinite Number of Men ran thither to extinguiſh it, yet aſſiſted by the Wind, and the Combuſtibleneſs of the Matter, it conſumed Twelve light Gallies, with a vaſt Quantity of Stores *. As an Addition to their Misfortunes, the Senate having taken into their Pay *Giulio* and *Renzo Orſini* and *Troilo Savello* with Five Hundred Men at Arms and Three Thouſand Foot, the Pope,

*A. D.* 1509.

Prodigies at *Venice*.

Fire in the Arſenal.

* *Bembo* writes, that the Fire was occaſioned by a Spark falling into a Barrel of Gunpowder as they were nailing it.

D. A. 1509. Pope, by very ſevere Orders, charged them, as Feudataries and Subjects of the Church, not to leave the Territory of *Rome*; and encouraged them not to reſtore Fifteen Thouſand Ducats they had received of the *Venetians* in advance, promiſing to ſet that Sum againſt other Sums in which that People were indebted to the Apoſtolic See, for what they had collected from the Towns in *Romagna* *.

THE Preparations of the Senate were chiefly directed towards the Borders of the *French* Dominions, from whence they expected the moſt ſpeedy and powerful Attack. For the King of *Aragon*, tho' he had promiſed the other Confederates to do mighty Feats, contented himſelf, according to Cuſtom, with making a Shew of Preparations, but performed nothing of Moment. *Cæſar* was employed in *Flanders*, where he was endeavouring to procure a free Gift from that People, who were the Subjects of his Grandſon, and did not ſuppoſe the War

* The Pope alſo promiſed to take off the Interdict from the *Orſini*, and to ſupport that Family.

War would commence at the time appointed, well knowing that the Pope, depending more on the Succeſs of others than his own Strength, would regulate his Motions according to the Progreſs of the Allies. *A. D.* 1509.

IT was not doubted but that the firſt Effort of the *French* King would be in the *Ghiaradadda*, by paſſing the River *Adda* near to *Caſciano*; the *Venetians* therefore aſſembled their Forces at *Ponte Vico* on the River *Oglio*. The Captain General of their Army was Count *Pitigliano*, and *Bartolomeo Alviano* had the Title of Governor, *Giorgio Cornaro*, and *Andrea Gritti* were the Proveditors *, both illuſtrious Noblemen, greatly honoured for their perſonal Accompliſhments, and for the Glory which they had acquired in the preceding Year, one of them by his Succeſs in *Friuli*, and the other by the Reſiſtance he made to the *Germans* at *Rovere*.



* The Proveditors repreſented the Senate, and the General was not allowed to go on any Enterprize of Importance without the Conſent of at leaſt one of them; but if Time permitted, an Expreſs was firſt to be ſent to *Venice* to conſult the Senate.

*A. D.* 1509. A Council being held to conſult on the Operations of the War, the Opinions were various, not only between ſome of the principal Officers, but between the Captain General and the Governor. For *Alviano*, who was of a fierce and daring Temper, and grown proud with the proſperous Succeſs of the preceding Year, being ever ready to embrace all Opportunities, and incredibly quick in taking his Reſolutions, as well as putting them in Execution, adviſed to carry the War into the Enemy's Country, rather than to wait till it was brought into their own Dominions; and to attack the Dutchy of *Milan*, before the *French* King ſhould arrive in *Italy*. But Count *Pitigliano*, whether the Vigour of his Spirit was impaired by Age, as *Alviano* ſaid, or whether, inſtructed by long Experience, he had with more Prudence conſidered the Dangers, was by no means for tempting of Fortune, except on very good Grounds; and was therefore of Opinion, that neglecting the Towns of the *Ghiaradadda*, which were of little Importance towards a Deciſion of the War, the Army ſhould entrench them-

*Venetians* hold a Council of War.

Opinion of *Alviano*.

Of Count *Pitigliano*.

themſelves at the Town of *Orci*, as *Franceſco Carmignuola* and *Giacopo Piccinino*, two famous Captains in their Times, had formerly done in the Wars between the *Venetians* and the *Milaneſe*: That *Orci* was an advantageous Poſt, of great Strength by its Situation between the Rivers *Oglio* and *Seria*, and very convenient for covering all the Towns of the *Venetian* Territory. For if the *French* ſhould venture to attack them in their Entrenchments, from the Strength of their Situation they might almoſt aſſure themſelves of the Victory; and if they choſe to lay Siege to *Cremona*, *Crema*, *Bergamo*, or *Breſcia*, they would be at liberty, for the Defence of theſe Places, to decamp and approach with their Army to the Beſiegers; then, by taking poſſeſſion of ſome ſecure and advantageous Poſt, they might with their numerous light Horſe and Stradiotti infeſt and haraſs them, by intercepting their Proviſions and warlike Stores, ſo as to prevent them from taking any Town of Importance, and, without putting themſelves in the Power of Fortune, eaſily defend the *Venetian* A. D. 1509.

*A. D.* 1509. State from the powerful and furious Attack of the King of *France*.

Both rejected by the Senate.

BOTH theſe Counſels were rejected by the Senate; that of *Alviano* as too bold, and that of the Captain General as favouring too much of Timidity, conſidering the Nature of the preſent Dangers. The Senate would indeed have been better pleaſed, if, according to the antient Cuſtom of their Republic, they could have proceeded ſecurely, and have put themſelves as little as poſſible out of their own Power *. But on the other hand, if, at the Time when almoſt all their Force was employed in reſiſting the King of *France*; the State ſhould be invaded with a powerful Army by the King of the *Romans*, with what Arms, under what Generals, and with what Forces could they pretend to oppoſe him? On this Conſideration, thoſe Meaſures, which in themſelves might carry a greater Appearance of Certainty and Security, would at laſt in effect prove the moſt uncertain and dangerous. For this Reaſon they em-

* That, is by not giving the General full Power to act according to Diſcretion.

embraced, as it often happens in contrary Opinions, a Medium betwixt both Counſels, and reſolved that the Army ſhould encamp behind the River *Adda*, to prevent the Enemy from paſſing that River and ravaging the *Ghiaradadda*; but gave expreſs Orders and Directions to avoid coming to an Engagement, without Neceſſity, or the faireſt Hopes of Succeſs. A. D. 1509.

BUT the King of *France* had taken a quite different Reſolution, and was ardently deſirous that the Armies ſhould come to a pitched Battle. That Monarch, accompanied by the Duke of *Lorrain*, and all the chief of the Nobility of *France*, as ſoon as he had paſſed the Mountains, ſent his Herald *Monjoye* to denounce War to the *Venetian* Senate; and that it might ſo much the ſooner be ſaid to be denounced, he was commiſſioned to make the ſame Declaration to the *Venetian* Magiſtrates of *Cremona* as he paſſed through that Place *. And tho' the *French* Army was

King of *France* denounces War to the *Venetians*.



* *Monjoye* was introduced into the *Venetian* Senate on the

*A. D.* 1509. was not as yet all aſſembled, and it had been determined not to enter upon Action before the King was arrived at *Caſciano*, yet, either by the Sollicitations of the Pope, who complained that the Time appointed by the Convention was elapſed, or that the Term of Forty Days, in which *Cæſar* was to enter upon the War after the King of *France* had opened the Campaign, might the ſooner begin, the firſt Reſolution was altered, and *Chaumont* was ordered to take the Field before the *Venetian* Troops, which were not yet all got together, had left their Quarters at *Ponte Vico*.

THE Fifteenth Day of *April*, 1509, gave the firſt Movement to ſo great a War, by *Chaumont*'s fording the River *Adda* near *Caſciano* with Three Thouſand Horſe, and paſſing Six Thouſand Foot, and afterwards the Artillery, in Boats. He directed his March to *Trevi*, Three Miles

*French* paſs the *Adda*,

the 16th Day of *April* 1509, in a private Manner, to avoid ſtriking a Terror into the People. After he had denounced the War on the part of the King his Maſter, the Doge *Loredano* made a very prudent and becoming Anſwer. *Bembo*.

Miles from *Caſciano*, in which was *Giuſtiniano Moroſino*, Proveditor of the *Venetian* Stradiotti, and with him *Vitello* of *Citta di Caſtello*, and *Vincentio di Naldo*, who had drawn together ſome Foot who were to be diſtributed in the neighbouring Towns. Theſe Officers imagining that the *French*, who had moſtly diſperſed themſelves in different Places, had no Deſign to attack the Town, but only to ſcour the Country, ordered out Two Hundred Foot, and ſome Stradiotti; they were immediately attacked by a Party of *French*, who after a Skirmiſh purſued them to the very Ravelin of the Gate. The *French* were ſoon after reinforced by more Troops, and the Artillery being brought before the Town, they began to play with ſome Falconets on the Fortifications of the Place, with ſuch an Effect, that, either from the Cowardice of the Commanders, who were terrified at the Suddenneſs of the Attack, or on account of a tumultuous Riſing of the Inhabitants, the Town was ſurrendered to *Chaumont* at Diſcretion: The Proveditor *Giuſtiniano*, *Vitello*, and *Vincentio*, and many others

*A. D.* 1509.

and take *Trevi*.

A. D. 1509. were made Priſoners, beſides One Hundred light Horſe, and One Thouſand Foot, almoſt all of them of the Valley of *Dilamone*, only Two Hundred Stradiotti ſaving themſelves by Flight *. *Chaumont*, after this, had ſome other neighbouring Places ſurrendered to him, and then returned with his Troops beyond the *Adda*.

On the ſame Day the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who was in the King's Pay, and had the Command of One Hundred Lances, attacked *Caſal Maggiore*, which Fortreſs, together with *Luigi Bono* the *Venetian* Commander, was ſurrendered to him by the Inhabitants, without any Reſiſtance. On the ſame Day alſo *Roccalbertino*, with One Hundred and Fifty Lances and Three Thouſand Foot, paſſed from *Piacenza* on a Bridge of Boats laid over the *Adda*, where it falls into the *Po*, and

* *Mocenigo* lays the Fault on the Townſmen of *Trevi*, who had rather betray the *Venetian* Garriſon than defend the Place againſt the *French*. But *Bembo* and *Giuſtiniano* aſſure us that the Town, after ſuſtaining the Attack as long as could be expected, was at laſt obliged to ſurrender

and made an Incurſion into the Territory of *Cremona*, which was alſo invaded on another Quarter by the Troops that were in Garriſon at *Lodi*, who had laid a Bridge over the *Adda*; beſides which the whole Body of Peaſants that inhabited the mountainous Country of *Brianza*, made a Deſcent and ravaged the Country as far as *Bergamo*. Theſe Attacks made in five different Parts on one Day, and without the Appearance of an Enemy on any Quarter, made more Noiſe than it produced Effect. For *Chaumont* immediately after returned to *Milan* to wait for the Arrival of the King, who was not far off: And the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who, after the Taking of *Caſal Maggiore*, had made a fruitleſs Attempt on *Aſola*, underſtanding that *Alviano*, with a numerous Body of Troops had paſſed the River *Oglio* at *Ponte Moloro*, abandoned *Caſal Maggiore*. *A. D.* 1509.

After a Beginning was thus made to the War, the Pope without Delay publiſhed, under the Title of Monitory, a terrible Bull, in which were related all the Pope publiſhes a Bull againſt the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1509. the Uſurpations which the *Venetians* had made of the Towns and Territories belonging to the Apoſtolic See, and of the Authority which they had arrogated to themſelves, in prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Liberty, and of the Juriſdiction of the Pontiffs, by conferring Biſhopricks and many vacant Benefices, and by trying Spiritual Cauſes and other Matters reſerved to the Judgment of the Church, in ſecular Courts. And, beſides a Recital of all the reſt of the paſt Diſobediences, there was an Account how they had but a few Days before, in order to diſturb the Adminiſtration of *Bologna*, to the Prejudice of the holy See, invited from *Faenza* the *Bentivogli*, who, being Rebels againſt the Church, were ſubject, as were all that received them, to the moſt grievous Cenſures. He then admoniſhed them to reſtore, within Twenty-four Days, the Lands which they had taken from the Church, together with the Profits received from them ſince the Time they firſt took them in their Poſſeſſion, under Pain of incurring, in caſe of Diſobedience, the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Interdicts, which

which would involve not only the City of *Venice*, but all Places within their Dominions, and even ſuch as, not being yet ſubject to them, ſhould hereafter receive any *Venetian*: Declaring them further to have incurred the Crime of High Treaſon, and worthy to be treated as perpetual Enemies to all Chriſtians, who were by theſe Preſents empowered to ſeize on their Effects, and to make Slaves of their Perſons. *A. D.* 1508.

AGAINST this Bull there was in a few Days after, by ſome unknown Perſons, diſperſed about the City of *Rome* a Paper in the Name of the Doge and *Venetian* Magiſtrates; in which, after a long Recital of Grievances received from the Pontiff and the King of *France*, was contained an Appeal from the Monitory to a future Council, and, in default of human Juſtice, to the Tribunal of Chriſt, the moſt juſt Judge and ſupreme Lord of all. *Venetians appeal to a Council.*

THIS ſpiritual Monitory was ſoon followed by temporal Threats; for the Herald

A. D. 1509. Herald *Monjoye*, being arrived at *Venice*, and introduced to the Doge and the Senate, in the Name of the King declared the War which was already begun, adding to his Declaration Reaſons of more Weight than Juſtice. To this Denunciation the Doge, after ſome Conſultations, anſwered in very few Words, that ſince the King of *France* had reſolved to declare War againſt them at a Time when they had conceived better Hopes of him on account of their Confederacy, which they had never violated, but had provoked the King of the *Romans* to be their Enemy, becauſe they would not renounce their Alliance with *France*, they would take the beſt care to defend themſelves, which they truſted to effect by means of their Arms, in conjunction with the Juſtice of their Cauſe. This ſhort Anſwer was thought more becoming the Dignity of the Republic, than enlarging further on their own Juſtification, or making vain Complaints againſt the Aggreſſor.

Doge's Anſwer to the *French* Denunciation of War.

THE *Venetian* Army was now all aſſembled at *Ponte Vico*, and conſiſted of

of Two Thouſand Men at Arms, Three Thouſand light Horſe and Stradiotti, Fifteen Thouſand Foot, picked from all Parts of *Italy*, and indeed the Flower of the *Italian* Soldiery, as well for the Valour of the Common Men, as for the Bravery and Experience of the Officers, beſides Fifteen Thouſand other Foot, ſelected from the ordinary ſtanding Militia of their own Country; and their Camp was furniſhed with a very numerous Train of Artillery. From *Ponte Vico* the Army marched to *Fontanella*, a Town Six Miles from *Lodi*, and a very convenient Poſt for covering *Cremona*, *Crema*, *Caravaggio*, and *Bergamo*. Here judging they had an Opportunity, by the Retreat of *Chaumont* beyond the *Adda*, and the King's Forces not being all joined, to recover *Trevi*, they put themſelves in Motion for that Purpoſe by Orders from the Senate, tho', contrary to the Advice of *Alviano*, as he himſelf afterwards affirmed. That General alledged that it was taking Reſolutions that were in a manner repugnant, to forbid an Engagement with the King's Army, and yet on the other hand to make

A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. make ſuch Approaches towards it, that perhaps it would not be in their Power to retreat, and even if it were feaſible, it could not be done without diminiſhing the Reputation of that Army to ſuch a Degree as to have a bad Influence on the whole Courſe of the War; on which Account, and for the Sake of his own Honour, and for the Honour of the *Italian* Army in general, he would ſooner chuſe to die, than give his Conſent to ſo diſgraceful a Step.

THE Army firſt took poſſeſſion of *Rivolta*, where the *French* had left no Garriſon. They put Fifty Horſe and Three Hundred Foot into the Place, and from thence came before *Trevi*, a a Town at a ſmall Diſtance from the *Adda*, ſituated on a Spot ſomewhat eminent, and in which *Chaumont* had left Fifty Lances and a Thouſand Foot under the Command of *Imbault*, *Frontaille* a *Gaſcon*, and the Chevalier *Blanc*. The Cannon being planted on the Side towards *Caſciano*, where the Wall was weakeſt, did ſuch Execution, that the Beſieged

ſieged ſurrendered next Day. The Soldiers had Liberty to depart, but without Arms, the Officers were made Priſoners, and the Town being left to the Diſcretion of the Conquerors was immediately plundered. *A. D.* 1509.

BUT the Loſs ſuſtained on this Occaſion proved greater to the Victors than to the Vanquiſhed: For as ſoon as the King of *France* had received Advice that the Enemy had laid Siege to *Trevi*, imagining that the Loſs of that Place in a manner before his Eyes would greatly diminiſh his Reputation, he ſuddenly ſet out from *Milan*, with an Intention to relieve it. On the Ninth of *May*, the Day after *Trevi* was taken, the King arrived at the River near *Caſciano*, where by the Conveniency of that Place three Bridges of Boats had been laid before without any Difficulty, and paſſed over with his whole Army, meeting with no Enemy, nor the leaſt Show of Reſiſtance. Every Body was ſurpriſed that the *Venetians* ſhould idly loſe ſo fair an Opportunity of attacking the firſt Part of the Troops that

King of *France* paſſes the *Adda*.

A. D. 1509. that had paſſed, and *Trivulzio*, when he ſaw that the Army met with no Impediment in its Paſſage, cry'd out, "This Day, O moſt Chriſtian King, have we gained the Victory." But we are aſſured that the *Venetian* Generals knew very well what good Opportunity was offered them, and were willing to lay hold of it; but it was not in their Power, neither by their Authority, nor by their Prayers nor Threats, to make the Soldiers, who were buſied in plundering, come out of *Trevi*. There being no other Remedy for theſe Diſorders, *Alviano* was neceſſitated to ſet Fire to the Town, that the Soldiers might be forced to leave the Place; but this Expedient was uſed too late, for the *French*, to their unſpeakable Satisfaction, had already paſſed the River, and were making themſelves merry with the Negligence and Miſconduct of their Enemies.

THE King encamped with his Army a little above a Mile diſtant from the Camp of the *Venetians*, which was placed on a ſomewhat riſing Grouud, and ſo ſtrong by its Situation and Entrenchments that there

there was no Avenue by which it could be attacked without manifeſt Danger. On conſulting therefore in what manner to proceed, many of thoſe who aſſiſted at the King's Councils, perſuading themſelves that *Cæſar* would ſoon exert the Power of his Arms in an effectual Manner, adviſed to proceed ſlowly and with Deliberation. For in Matters of War he that expects an Attack is in a better Condition than he who ſeeks to give it, and when the *Venetian* Generals ſhall find themſelves unable to defend their Dominions in ſo many Parts at once, they will be under a Neceſſity of coming out of their Trenches, and ſeek an Occaſion of hazarding a Battle. But the King was of different Sentiments, and only wiſhed for an Opportunity to fight where the Situation of the Place might not give the Enemy too great an Advantage over the Valour of his Soldiers. And what made him the more eager to engage was either his Apprehenſions of the Slowneſs of the King of the *Romans*, or becauſe finding himſelf in Perſon with all the Forces of his Kingdom, he had not only conceived

A. D. 1509.

*French King deſirous to fight.*

A. D. 1509. great Hopes of Victory, but thought it would be a great Diſhonour to his Name if he did not put an End to the War by himſelf without the Aſſiſtance of others; and, on the contrary, it would be highly glorious for him, that the other Confederates ſhould equally ſhare with himſelf in the Rewards of a Victory obtained by his own Power and Valour. On the other ſide, the *Venetian* Senate and Generals, retarded in their Counſels by the Fear of *Cæſar*, had reſolved not to truſt themſelves in a Place of equal Advantage to themſelves and their Enemy, but always to keep within ſtrong Entrenchments, ſo as to avoid a Neceſſity of fighting, and prevent, at the ſame time, the *French* from making any conſiderable Progreſs.

*Venetians avoid a Battle.*

WITH theſe Reſolutions the Armies ſtood encamped one againſt the other a whole Day, and tho' there paſſed frequent Skirmiſhes between the light Horſe, and the *French*, advancing their Artillery, endeavoured to draw on a Battle, yet nothing of Moment happened. The next Day

Day the King made a Motion towards *Rivolta*, for the Sake of trying whether a Deſire to preſerve that Town would induce the *Italians* to quit their Camp; but this not moving them, the King, that he might obtain from them at leaſt a tacit Confeſſion that they durſt not come to an Engagement, ſtood full four Hours with his Army drawn up in Order of Battle before their Entrenchments; but they made no other Motion than turning to the Front of the *French*, and arraying themſelves, without abandoning their ſtrong Poſt. In the mean time the Cannon with Part of the Troops came before the Walls of *Rivolta*, which Place was taken in a few Hours by Force. Here the King with his whole Army that Evening took up his Quarters, not a little perplexed at the Enemy's Method of proceeding, whoſe Conduct he could not help commending as much as it diſpleaſed him. To try however if Neceſſity would drive them whither their Will would never induce them, after he had tarried a Day at *Rivolta*, he ſet Fire to the Place, and left it, with an Intent to

*A. D.* 1509.

*French* take *Rivolta*.

A. D. 1509. take up his Quarters at *Vaila* or *Pandano* the next Evening, in Hopes that by the commodious Situation of either of theſe Places he might intercept the Convoys of Proviſions from *Crema* and *Cremona* to the Enemy's Camp, and ſo reduce them to a Neceſſity of abandoning it.

THE *Venetian* Generals were aware of the King's Project, and concluded that it was neceſſary for them to take poſſeſſion of ſome other ſtrong Poſt near the Enemy, that they might continue to hold them under the ſame Difficulties, and obſtruct their Progreſs. Count *Pitigliano* adviſed not to move till the next Day, but *Alviano* inſiſted on the contrary with ſuch Warmth, alledging that it was neceſſary to prevent the Enemy, that at laſt it was reſolved to move with all Speed. There are two Roads that lead to *Crema* and *Cremona*, one lower, near the *Adda* but longer as being in a curve Line, the other more remote from that River, but ſhorter, and in a ſtrait Line, repreſenting the String of the Bow, as the other does the Bow itſelf. The lower

lower Road was taken by the King's Army, which was ſaid to conſiſt of above Two Thouſand Lances, Six Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Twelve Thouſand *Gaſcons* and *Italians*, abundantly provided with Artillery, and a great Number of Pioneers. The *Venetian* Army marched by the higher Road, with their Right towards the Enemy, and was reckoned to conſiſt of Two Thouſand Men at Arms, above Twenty Thouſand Foot, and a very great Number of light Horſe, Part *Italians* and Part inliſted by the *Venetians* in *Greece*. Theſe rid on before the reſt, but could not well extend nor range themſelves for the Shrubs and Stumps of Trees that covered the Ground between the two Armies, and alſo took off all Proſpect they might have one of another. The *Venetian* Army marching in this Manner, and continually advancing along the higher Road, the Vanguard of the *French*, led by *Charles d' Amboiſe* and *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, in which were Five Hundred Lances and the *Swiſs*; and the *Venetian* Rearguard commanded by *Bartolomeo Alviano*, conſiſting of Eight Hun-

A. D. 1509

Number of the Armies.

*A. D.* 1509. Hundred Men at Arms, and almoſt all the Flower of the Foot, arrived at the Meeting of the Roads much about the ſame Time; but the *Venetians* marched in no good Order, becauſe *Alviano* had no Thoughts of fighting that Day. However when he ſaw himſelf ſo near the Enemy, either ſtimulated by his uſual Ardor, or finding himſelf reduced to ſuch a Situation as made it neceſſary for him to engage, he immediately ſent Notice to Count *Pitigliano*, who was advanced forwards with the other Part of the Army, of his Neceſſity and Reſolution, deſiring him to come to his Aſſiſtance. But the Count ſent him word to purſue his March, and avoid fighting, becauſe the Rules of War ſo required, and ſuch were the Orders of the *Venetian* Senate.

ALVIANO having drawn up his Foot, with Six Pieces of Cannon, on a ſmall Bank made to check the Violence of a Torrent, the Bed of which was then without Water, and lay between both Armies, attacked the Enemy with ſuch Vigour and Fury that he made them give Way.

Way. In this Beginning of the Battle he was greatly favoured by ſome Vines, among which the firſt Charge was made, and which by their trailing Branches very much incommoded the *French* Horſe. But their main Battle advancing with the King in Perſon to their Aſſiſtance, the two firſt Squadrons drew up and fell on the Enemy. *Alviano*, who had conceived mighty Hopes of the Victory from his proſperous Beginning, rode up and down, and was preſent every where, animating and encouraging his Troops with the moſt ardent and enlivening Speeches. The Fight was very furious and obſtinate on all Sides, and the *French*, by the ſeaſonable Advance of their main Body, having recovered their Courage and Spirits, and the Engagement being now drawn into an open Place, their Cavalry, in which they were much ſuperior, had Room to exert their utmoſt Force. They were alſo much animated by the Preſence of their King, who, without regarding his Perſon any more than if he had been a common Soldier, expoſed himſelf to the Danger of the Cannon, and was forever

*A. D.* 1509.

Battle of the *Ghiaradadda*.

A. D. 1509. labouring, by Commands, by Encouragements, and by Threats, as need required, to ſtimulate his Men to the Charge. On the other hand, the *Italian* Infantry, enlivened by their firſt Succeſs, maintained the Fight with incredible Vigour, *Alviano* performing the Office of an excellent Soldier as well as of a General. But at laſt, after a valorous Conteſt for about the Space of three Hours, the *Venetian* Forces ſuffering very much from the Enemy's Horſe in the open Plain, and beſides not a little incommoded by the Ground, which was become very ſlippery, from a heavy Shower of Rain that fell during the Battle, and hindered their Infantry from ſtanding firmly on their Feet, but, above all, wanting the Succour of the reſt of their Troops, began to fight under very great Diſadvantage. They continued however to make a noble and reſolute Reſiſtance, but having loſt all Hopes of overcoming, they fought more for Glory than for Safety, and made the Victory bloody, and, for ſome time, dubious to the *French*; till, at laſt, being ſpent, and their Strength, but not their Courage failing,

failing, the greateſt Part, without turning their Backs to the Enemy, were killed in the Field. Among the Slain was the much celebrated *Piero*, one of the Marquiſes *del Monte a Santa Maria* in *Tuſcany*, who had been an Officer of Foot in the Wars of *Piſa* in the Pay of the *Florentines*, and was now a Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in the Service of the *Venetians*. By this valiant Reſiſtance of only one Part of the Army, it was then firmly believed by many, that if the whole *Venetian* Force had been engaged, they would have obtained the Victory. But Count *Pitigliano*, with the greater Part of the Army kept off from the Field of Battle, either becauſe, as he himſelf alledged, his Troops were put in Diſorder as he was turning them with an Intention to come up and engage, by a Squadron of Horſe that fled; or rather, as the Report went, becauſe he had no Hopes of getting the better, and was angry that *Alviano*, in Defiance of his Authority, had preſumed to engage, and thought the wiſeſt Meaſure he could take was to ſave that Part of the Army which was with him, and

*A. D.* 1509.

Defeat of the *Venetians*.

not

A. D. 1509. not ſacrifice the whole to another's inconſiderate Raſhneſs. There died in this Battle but few Men at Arms, the greateſt Loſs fell upon the *Venetian* Foot, of whom ſome affirm that Eight Thouſand were killed; others ſay that the Number of the Dead on both Sides did not exceed Six Thouſand. *Bartolomeo Alviano* remained Priſoner, having one of his Eyes almoſt beat out, and his whole Face much bruiſed, and in that Condition was conducted to the King's Pavilion; twenty Pieces of heavy Cannon were alſo taken, but the Remainder of the *Venetian* Army not being purſued, got off in Safety. Thus ended the famous Battle of the *Ghiaradadda*, or, as ſome call it, of *Vaila*, which was fought on the Fourteenth Day of *May*, and in Memory of which the King erected a Chapel on the Place where the Armies engaged, and honoured it with the Name of *Santa Maria della Vittoria*.

THE King of *France*, after obtaining ſo great a Victory, reſolving not to loſe by Negligence the Advantages he had acquired

quired by Valour and good Fortune, marched the next Day to *Caravaggia*. The Town immediately ſubmitted upon Articles, and the Cittadel, after a Day's Battery, ſurrendered at Diſcretion. On the Day following, the City of *Bergamo*, without waiting the Arrival of the Army before the Place, ſurrendered itſelf to the King, who left Fifty Lances, and One Thouſand Foot in the Town, in order to beſiege the Caſtle, and directed his March to *Breſcia*. Before his Arrival at that Place, the Caſtle of *Bergamo*, the Day after the Trenches were opened, capitulated and agreed that *Maria Giorgio*, and the other *Venetian* Officers ſhould remain Priſoners. For the King had reſolved, not ſo much out of Hatred, as in Hopes to extort large Ranſoms, to grant no Article, in the Capitulation of any Town, by which the *Venetian* Noblemen might have Leave to retire in Safety. The Inhabitants of *Breſcia* were not of the ſame Diſpoſition as in the Days of their Grandfathers, when, in the Wars of *Filippo Maria Viſconti*, they ſuſtained a very hard Siege for the Sake of preſerving them;

*A. D.* 1509.

Progreſs of the *French* after the Battle.

*Bergamo* taken.

*A. D.* 1509. themſelves under the *Venetian* Government. For they were now inclined to ſurrender themſelves to the King, partly through the Terror of the *French* Arms, and partly by the Perſuaſions of Count *Gio. Franceſco di Gambara*, Head of the Faction of the *Ghibellines*. Wherefore the Day after the Defeat the Townſmen ſeized on the Gates, and openly oppoſed *Giorgio Cornaro*, who had haſtened thither with the utmoſt Expedition, and offered to put ſome Troops into the Place. And when afterwards the *Venetian* Army, diminiſhed not ſo much by that Defeat, but, as it uſually happens in like Caſes, by Deſertion, approached the City, the Inhabitants paid no regard to the Authority and Intreaties of *Andrea Gritti*, who had entered into *Breſcia*, and endeavoured to perſuade them to admit the Army for their own Defence. Wherefore the Troops not thinking themſelves ſecure in their preſent Situation, removed towards *Peſchiera*, and then the City of *Breſcia*, by the Intereſt and Sollicitations of the Family of the *Gambari*, ſurrendered itſelf to the King of *France*, as did two Days after

And *Breſcia.*

after the Cittadel on condition of Liberty and Safety to all that were within it, except the *Venetian* Noblemen. *A. D.* 1509.

THE News of ſo many ſucceſſive Calamities and Misfortunes arriving at *Venice*, it is not to be expreſſed nor imagined what Grief and Terror it ſtruck into the Hearts of all the People, with the Confuſion and Aſtoniſhment into which it threw them. They were not accuſtomed to feel the Strokes of Adverſity, but to come off Conquerors in almoſt all the Wars in which they had ever been engaged. But now they had preſented before their Eyes the diſmal Proſpect of the Loſs of their Dominions, and the Danger of the final Ruin and Deſtruction of their dear Country, inſtead of thoſe pleaſing Scenes of Glory and Grandeur from which they had but a few Months before propoſed to themſelves the Empire of all *Italy*. People from all Parts of the City ran with loud and miſerable Lamentations to the Palace, where the Senate ſat conſulting what Meaſures to take in ſo preſſing a Juncture, and after long Debate

General Conſternation at *Venice*.

D. A. 1509. bate concluded on nothing but Deſpair. For the Remedies appeared ſo weak and uncertain, and the Hopes of their Preſervation ſo ſlender and groundleſs, as to afford no other Reſult, when they conſidered that they had no other Generals, and no other Soldiers than thoſe who had eſcaped from the Battle, and were deſtitute of Strength and Spirits, and that the People ſubject to their Dominion were either inclined to rebel, or averſe to ſuffer Loſs, and hazard Life for their Sake. The King of *France* with an Army very powerful, and inſolent with Victory, was diſpoſed to follow the Courſe of his proſperous Fortune, and his Name alone was ſufficient to induce every one to yield himſelf to his Subjection. And if they had not been able to reſiſt that King, what muſt become of them on the Arrival of the King of the *Romans*, who, as reported, was approaching to their Borders, and now he had ſo fair an Opportunity, would doubtleſs quicken his March? Dangers and Deſpair appeared in all Quarters, with very few Signs of Hope. And what Security had they that in their own Country,

try, full of innumerable Multitudes, there would be no dangerous Inſurrection, partly from a Greedineſs of Plunder, and partly out of Hatred to the Nobles? And thus did they reckon as moſt certain all thoſe calamitous Events which their own Imagination repreſented as poſſible to happen; which is the greateſt Degree of Timidity. *A. D.* 1509.

UNDER the Weight of theſe terrible and alarming Apprehenſions, the Senate however, after ſome time, recollected their Spirits in the beſt Manner they could, and reſolved to uſe their utmoſt Efforts to reconcile themſelves upon any Terms whatſoever to the Pope, to the King of the *Romans*, and to the Catholic King, without taking any Thoughts about appeaſing the King of *France*, for they as much diſtruſted him for his Hatred againſt them, as they dreaded the Power of his Arms. Nor yet did they on this account in the leaſt abate of their Sollicitude to defend themſelves, by providing Supplies of Money, and making new Levies in all their Territories; and being apprehenſive of a Fleet which was ſaid to be preparing *Venetians prepare for their Defence.*

at

*A. D.* 1509. at *Genoa*, they increaſed their naval Force to Fifty Gallies, and appointed *Angelo Treviſano* to command it.

Further Progreſs of the *French* King.

But all their Counſels were prevented by the Diligence and Activity of the King of *France*, to whom, after the Acquiſition of *Breſcia*, the City of *Cremona* ſurrendered, the Caſtle ſtill remaining in the Hands of the *Venetians* *; which, tho' in a good State of Defence, would have followed the Example of the reſt, as did much about the ſame time the Caſtle of *Pizzichitone*, if the King would have conſented that all who were in the Place ſhould have Leave to depart in Safety; but many of the *Venetian* Nobles being there, and amongſt the reſt *Zaccharia Contarino*, a very wealthy Nobleman, he refuſed to accept their Surrendry but on Condition of ſubmitting to his abſolute Diſpoſal. Leaving therefore ſome Troops to block it up, and the *Venetian* Army, which continually diminiſhed, being encamped

* To this might be added *Crema*, which Town was ſurrendered to the King by Means of *Soncino Benzoni*. *Bembo*.

camped in the *Campo Martio* near to *Verona*, becauſe the *Veroneſe* would not receive them within their Walls, the King marched forwards to *Peſchiera*, to make himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of that Place, the Town having already ſurrendered. Soon after the Batteries had began to play the *Swiſs* and *Gaſcons* made an Attack, and entering thro' ſome ſmall Breaches in the Wall with irreſiſtible Force, put the Garriſon, in Number about Four Hundred, to the Sword. The Governor, who had alſo the Command of the Town, and was a *Venetian* Nobleman, being made a Priſoner, was, by the King's Orders, together with his Son, hanged on the Battlements of the ſame Caſtle. What induced the King to this Piece of Cruelty was his Intention to terrify thoſe who were in the Caſtle of *Cremona*, and deter them by this exemplary Puniſhment from defending themſelves to the laſt Extremity. Thus, in the Space of Fifteen Days after the Battle, had the King of *France* made himſelf Maſter of all that Part of the *Milaneſe* allotted to him by the Diviſion made at *Cambray*, the

A. D. 1509.

*A. D.* 1509. Caſtle of *Cremona* excepted: An Acquiſition of vaſt Advantage to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and by which the royal Revenue was increaſed yearly by above Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats.

Motions of the Pope's Army.

IN the mean time, there was no certain News of the Motions of the King of the *Romans*, but the Pope had attacked the Towns of *Romagna*, with an Army of Four Hundred Men at Arms, as many light Horſe, and Eight Thouſand Foot, and with a Train of Artillery borrowed from the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he had appointed Gonfaloniere of the Church; a Title in our Times rather of Dignity than Authority. The Eccleſiaſtic Forces were put under the Direction of *Franceſco da Caſtel del Rio*, Cardinal of *Pavia*, with the Title of Apoſtolical Legate, and *Franceſco Maria della Rovere*, Son to the late *John* the Pope's Brother, who being adopted by *Guido Ubaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*, his Uncle by the Mother's Side, and the Adoption confirmed by the Authority of the Pope in Conſiſtory, had the Year before, the Duke dying without Iſſue male, ſuc-

ſucceeded him in the Dutchy. The Army marched from *Ceſena* towards *Cervia*, and being arrived between *Imola* and *Faenza*, they took the Town of *Solarolo*, and having encamped ſome Days at *Baſtia*, three Miles from *Faenza*, removed to *Briſighella*, the principal Town of the Valley of *Lamone*, into which had entered *Gian Pagolo Manfrone* with Eight Hundred Foot and ſome Horſe. Theſe Troops ſallying forth in order to fight the Enemy, were drawn into an Ambuſh, where they were vigorouſly charged by *Gian Pagolo Baglione* and *Lodovico della Mirandola*, Commanders in the Eccleſiaſtical Army, and flying back to the Town, their Purſuers entered pell mell with them into the Place, and with ſuch Violence that *Manfrone*, who had fallen from his Horſe, had ſcarce Time to retire into the Caſtle, which being beſieged, the firſt Shot that was made ſet Fire to the Powder in the Magazine, and ſo frightened and confounded the Beſieged, that they ſurrendered without any Conditions to the Diſcretion of the Conquerors. After taking Poſſeſſion of the whole Val- A. D. 1509.

*A. D.* 1509. ley, the Army made a Deſcent into the Plain, and took *Granarolo*, with all the other Towns and Villages of the Territory of *Faenza*, and went to encamp at *Ruſſi*, a Caſtle ſituated between *Faenza* and *Ravenna*, but not eaſy to be taken, being ſurrounded with a wide and deep Foſſe, and had a Garriſon of Six Hundred foreign Soldiers: But what rendered the Siege more difficult was the Want of Conduct and Harmony in the Pope's Army; for tho' it abounded in Troops, having been newly reinforced with Three Thouſand *Swiſs*, yet, on this account, it made not ſo great a Progreſs as otherwiſe it might, as the *Venetians* were not powerful in *Romagna*. *Giovanni*, a Brave Captain of Stradiotti, having ſallied out of *Ravenna* with his Company, was routed and taken Priſoner by *Giovanni Vitelli*; and *Ruſſi*, after the Army had lain before it ten Days, was at laſt ſurrendered upon Articles; and the Victory of the King of *France* happening at this Time, the City of *Faenza*, which, by reaſon of the ſmall Garriſon of *Venetian* Soldiers, was at its own Diſpoſal, agreed to come under the

the Pope's Dominion, if it received no Succours in Fifteen Days. This Agreement being made, Five Hundred *Venetian* Foot marched out of *Faenza*, under the Legate's Word of Honour for their Security, but were diſarmed and ſtripped by Order of the Duke of *Urbino*. The Example of *Faenza* was followed by the City of *Ravenna* as ſoon as the Army came before the Place. Thus, more by the Reputation of the King's Victory, than by the Power of his own Arms, did the Pope recover the Towns he ſo much deſired in *Romagna*, in which the *Venetians* had nothing left, but the Caſtle of *Ravenna*. A. D. 1509.

THE Defeat of the *Venetian* Army raiſed every Day new Enemies to that Republic. The Duke of *Ferrara*, who had hitherto not thought fit to declare himſelf, on a ſudden expelled out of *Ferrara* the Biſdomino, a Magiſtrate whom, by antient Conventions, the *Venetians* maintained in that City, to adminiſter Juſtice to their own Subjects; and taking up Arms recovered, without Oppoſition, *Venetians* attacked on all Sides.

A. D. 1509. ſition, the *Poleſine di Rovigo*, and ſunk with his Cannon the *Venetian* Float on the River *Adice*. The Marquis of *Mantoua* took poſſeſſion of *Aſola* and *Lunato*, which had been taken by the *Venetians* from his Great Grandfather *Giovannifranceſco da Gonzaga* in their Wars againſt *Filippo Maria Viſconte*. In *Iſtria Chriſtofano Frangipane* made himſelf Maſter of *Piſinio* and *Divinio*. And the Duke of *Brunſwick*, by Orders from *Cæſar*, entering *Friuli* with Two Thouſand Militia, took poſſeſſion of *Feltro* and *Bellona*. And at his Approach, and the Fame of the Victory obtained by the *French*, *Trieſte* and thoſe other Towns, the Acquiſition of which had been the Source of ſo many Calamities to the Republic, returned under the Dominion of *Cæſar*. Moreover the Counts of *Ladrone* ſeized on ſome neighbouring Caſtles, as did the Biſhop of *Trent* on *Riva di Trento* and *Agreſto*. But nothing ſince the Defeat ſo much terrified the *Venetians* as the Loſs of the Cittadel of *Peſchiera*, which, they expected, would by its Strength repreſs the Fury, and ſtop the Progreſs of the

the Conqueror. Aſtoniſhed at ſuch a Train of Misfortunes, they were alſo apprehenſive that the King of *France* would make a further Progreſs, for their Troops being reduced to a very ſmall Number, and without Order or Diſcipline, were retired to *Meſtre*. Wherefore looking on their Affairs as deſperate, and following the Dictates of Fear rather than of Judgment, they reſolved to leſſen the Number of their Enemies, and, perhaps by too haſty a Deſpair, abandon the Defence of the *Terra firma*, that the King of *France* might have no Inducement to advance towards their Capital, where they were [illegible] without Apprehenſions of an Inſurrection either of the Populace, or of the innumerable Multitude of Foreigners living in *Venice*, to which they might be tempted by a greedy Deſire of Plunder. They were alſo in Danger from their own Citizens, who, they had reaſon to believe, could no longer bear that, being free Denizens by long Succeſſion of Ages in the ſame City, and even many of them of the ſame Blood and the ſame Families with the Nobles, they ſhould be excluded from Honours, A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. and in all Matters ſubjected and forced to give Way to the ſuperior Rank of theſe proud Men of Quality. For this Deſpondency and Abjectneſs of Mind in giving up their Territory, the Senate, amongſt others, gave alſo this Reaſon, that if they voluntarily relinquiſhed their Dominions for the Sake of avoiding the preſent Dangers, whenever proſperous Fortune ſhould return, they might recover them with the greater Facility. For when the People were left at liberty to diſpoſe of their Obedience according to their own Diſcretion, they would ſhew leſs Reluctance to return under their antient Government, than if they had departed from their Duty in open Rebellion.

INDUCED by theſe Reaſons, the *Venetians*, unmindful of the national Valour, and of the Splendor of ſo glorious a Republic, were contented to keep themſelves within the Bounds of the ſalt Waters, and gave Orders to their Officers and Magiſtrates in *Padoua*, *Verona*, and other Towns deſtined to *Maximilian*, to leave them in the Diſpoſal of the Inhabitants,

and

and come away. Beſides this they diſ- *A. D.* 1509.
patched, with all Speed, *Antonio Giuſti-* *Venetians*
*niano* Ambaſſador to that Prince, to obtain of him a Peace upon any Conditions. This Ambaſſador being admitted into *Cæſar*'s Preſence at a public Audience, ſpoke in a lamentable and very ſubmiſſive Manner; but in vain, for *Cæſar* refuſed to make any Convention without the King of *France*. *abandon the Terra firma.*

I THINK it not foreign to my Purpoſe, that we may form the better Notion of the mighty Conſternation that had ſeized on the Republic, which, for above Two Hundred Years before, had never felt the Stroakes of Adverſity, to inſert the genuine Speech of the Ambaſſador, tranſlated Word for Word out of *Latin* into our own Tongue, as follows:

" IT is manifeſt and certain, that the antient Philoſophers, and principal Men among the Heathens, were not miſtaken when they aſſerted that the true, ſolid, laſting and immortal Glory was that which a Man acquired by conquering himſelf. *Speech of the Venetian Ambaſſador to Cæſar.*

This

*A. D.* 1509. This they exalted above all Kingdoms, Trophies, and Triumphs. For this was the greateſt Praiſe given to *Scipio* the elder, a Man famous for ſo many Victories, who, by getting the Maſtery of himſelf, acquired more Renown than by his Triumph over *Africa*, and his Conqueſt of *Carthage*. Was it not the ſame Virtue that gained Immortality to the Great *Macedonian?* When *Darius*, overcome by him in a very fatal Battle, prayed to the immortal Gods to reſtore him to his Kingdom, he added, that if they had otherwiſe decreed, he would deſire no other Succeſſor than ſo generous an Enemy, ſo merciful a Conqueror. *Cæſar* the Dictator, whoſe Name Fortune your Majeſty inherits, and with whoſe Liberality, Magnificence, and other Virtues you are endowed; did he not merit to be enrolled among the Number of the Gods by Condeſcending, Reſtoring, and Forgiving? And, to name no more, the Senate and People of *Rome*, the Conquerors of the World, whoſe Empire on Earth remains in you alone, and of whoſe Greatneſs and Majeſty you are the Re-

Repreſentative; did they not ſubject Nations and Provinces more by Clemency, Equity and Gentleneſs, than by Force of Arms and Violences?" *A. D.* 1509.

"SINCE all this muſt be granted, it will be no inconſiderable Addition to your Majeſty's Praiſe, if now, while you have Victory in your Hands, and the *Venetians* at your Feet, you would put yourſelf in mind of human Frailty, and know how to uſe your good Fortune with Moderation, by attending more to the Study of Peace than to the doubtful Events of War. For how great is the Inſtability of human Affairs, how uncertain Chances, how [illegible] mutable, fallacious and hazardous the Condition of Mortals, we need no foreign nor antient Examples to demonſtrate; we have a more than ſufficient Proof in the *Venetian* Republic, which but a little while ſince was flouriſhing, ſplendid, celebrated, and potent to ſuch a high Degree, that the Luſtre of its Name, and Fame of its Power, were not confined within the Bounds of *Europe*, but ſpread themſelves with extraordinary Splen-

A. D. 1509. Splendor and Admiration, through *Africa* and *Aſia*, and their Praiſe reſounded even to the remoteſt Ends of the Earth. How is this ſo lately glorious a Commonwealth, by one unproſperous Battle, in a ſlight Engagement, deprived at once of the Fame of its glorious Actions, deſpoiled of its Riches, torn in Pieces, trampled under Foot, ruined, and in Want of all Things, but eſpecially of good Counſel, and depreſſed to ſuch a Degree, that the very Idea of all its antient Valour and Reſolution ſeems to be loſt, and all that noble Ardor and Thirſt after Glory in Wars totally extinguiſhed?

" But they, I mean the *Venetians*, undoubtedly deceive themſelves, if they aſcribe ſo great a Revolution to their own Valour; ſince it is well known that the *Venetians* have ſtruggled under greater Calamities in Times paſt; they have been diſtreſſed, they have been exhauſted by vaſt Loſſes and Damages; but they never deſponded, nor ſunk into Deſpair, particularly during the Time when they ſuſtained, for many Years, ſo very dangerous

gerous a War with that moſt cruel Ene- A. D. 1509.
my the *Turkiſh* Tyrant, whom they bravely reſiſted, till by Perſeverance, inſtead of being conquered, they became in the End Conquerors. The Republic would have expected the ſame Event in the preſent Diſtreſs, had not the Dread of the Name of *Cæſar*, and the Reſolution of his bold and invincible Troops ſunk their Courage, and depreſſed their Spirits, and ſtruck ſuch an univerſal Damp, as deprived them of all Hopes not only of Victory but even of Reſiſtance. We therefore laying down our Arms, fly for Refuge to the inexpreſſible Clemency, or rather Godlike Pity and Commiſeration of your Majeſty, on which we entirely depend in our loſt and deſpairing Condition: Beſeeching your Majeſty, in the Name of our Prince and Senate, and of the *Venetian* People, that you would caſt an Eye of Pity on our afflicted Circumſtances, and adminiſter a ſovereign Remedy to our Evils. We are ready to embrace whatever Conditions of Peace you ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe, as juſt, honourable, and conformable to Equity and

A. D. 1509. and Reaſon. But we may perhaps be thought worthy to tax ourſelves *; and therefore, freely and with one Conſent, reſtore unto your Majeſty, as the true and rightful Lord all thoſe Lands and Poſſeſſions which our Anceſtors have taken from the Holy Empire, and from the Dutchy of *Auſtria*. And to render this Offer the more convenient and acceptable, we freely and voluntarily relinquiſh to your Majeſty all our Poſſeſſions on the *Terra firma*, renouncing all Right and Title to them by what Means ſoever acquired. Beſides this, we will pay to your Majeſty and your lawful Succeſſors in the Empire the Sum of Fifty Thouſand Ducats yearly for ever, and we will yield Obedience to your Majeſty's Orders, Edicts, Laws and Precepts. Defend us, we beſeech you, from the Inſolence of thoſe who, from being but a little while ago our Confederates, are now become our moſt cruel Enemies. Being thus preſerved by your Majeſty's Clemency, we ſhall

* *Ma forſe noi ſiamo degni che da noi medeſimi ci taſſiamo*; as much as to ſay, We are left at liberty to burden ourſelves with ſuch Conditions as may perhaps procure a Peace,

ſhall ever call you the Father and the Founder of our City. We ſhall record in our Annals, and perpetually recount to our Children the great Merits of *Cæſar*. And it will be no ſmall Addition to your Praiſes, that you are the firſt at whoſe Feet the *Venetian* Republic has in ſo ſupplicant a Manner proſtrated itſelf, the firſt to whom it has bowed the Neck, whom it honours, reverences, and regards as a celeſtial God. Had it pleaſed the great God and Lord of all to have reſtrained the Inclinations of our Anceſtors from intermeddling in the Affairs of others, our Republic would ſtill outvy in Splendor all other Cities in *Europe*; but now, alas! it lies in the Duſt, miſerable, forlorn, and dejected, the Triumph of Envy and Malice, expoſed to Deriſion and Reproach, and in a Moment deprived of the Glory of all its former Victories. But ſince it is neceſſary for us to return to the Point from whence we begun, it lies in your Power, O *Cæſar*, by forgiving and pardoning your *Venetians*, to purchaſe to yourſelf a Name and Glory greater and more ſplendid than ever any Conqueror

A. D. 1509.

*A. D.* 1509. queror acquired by Victory, and which no Succeſſion of Ages, nor the moſt diſtant Length of Time can poſſibly efface from the Minds of Men; but all future Generations will celebrate your Praiſe, and confeſs and call you the pious, the merciful, and the moſt glorious Prince upon Earth. We in particular, your *Venetians*, ſhall aſcribe it as entirely owing to your Goodneſs, Generoſity and Clemency, that we live, breathe, and enjoy the Benefit of human Society."

*Venetians* ſurrender the Towns in *Puglia* and *Romagna*.

THE Senate, in purſuance of the ſame Reſolution, diſpatched a Perſon to *Puglia*, to make a Ceſſion of the Ports in that Country to the King of *Aragon*. That Prince, well knowing that he ſhould reap the Fruits of another's Labour without Expence or Hazard, had fitted out but a very ſmall Fleet from *Spain*, which took Poſſeſſion of ſome Places of little Importance in the Territories of thoſe Cities. They deputed alſo a Secretary of the Republic into *Romagna*, with a Commiſſion to ſurrender into the Hands of the Pope all that they yet poſſeſſed in

that

that Country, on condition that *Gian Pagolo Manfrone* and the other Priſoners ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and that they might have Leave to withdraw the Troops and Artillery that were in the Cittadel of *Ravenna*. While the Pope heſitated at accepting theſe Conditions, becauſe he would not diſpleaſe the Confederates, the Garriſon gave up the Cittadel, contrary to the Will of the *Venetian* Secretary, who was in the Place, and had ſome Aſſurances from thoſe who managed the Treaty at *Rome*, that the Pope would at laſt conſent to the Conditions on which the Surrender had been offered. His Holineſs made heavy Complaints that the Senate of *Venice* had treated him with more Contumacy than they had ſhewed towards *Caſar* and the King of *Aragon*. And therefore when the *Venetian* Cardinals *Grimano* and *Cornaro* demanded of him, in the Name of the Senate, Abſolution from the Monitory, as their Due, becauſe they had offered the Reſtitution of the Towns he demanded within the Term of Twenty-four Days, his Holineſs anſwered, that A. D. 1509.

*A. D.* 1509. they had not yielded Obedience, becauſe they had not offered them ſimply, but with Reſtrictions and Conditions, and had been admoniſhed alſo to reſtore, beſides the Towns, all the Profits they had received, with the Effects belonging to the Church, or to the Eccleſiaſtics.

THUS were the Affairs of the *Venetian* Republic, by a violent and aſtoniſhing Shock, precipitated to the loweſt Degree of Miſery, with a continual Accumulation of Calamity upon Calamity, all Hopes vaniſhing as ſoon as propoſed, and no Reſource left, by means of which it might hope at leaſt, after the loſs of ſo much Empire, to preſerve its own Liberty. So great a Cataſtrophe variouſly affected the Minds of the *Italians*; ſome beheld it with the greateſt Pleaſure, remembering the ambitious Proceedings of that People, who, ſetting aſide all Regard to Juſtice and public Faith, ſeized upon all Opportunities that offered, and had openly ſought Means to bring all *Italy* in Subjection to them. Such Attempts rendered their Name univerſally deteſted, and they were

Various Reflections of the *Italians* on the ruinous State of the *Venetians*.

were ſtill the more hated for the Report, which prevailed every where, of their natural Pride and Haughtineſs. Many, on the contrary, conſidered the Matter with more ſound Judgment, reflecting what a diſmal and calamitous Situation it muſt be for *Italy* to find itſelf intirely reduced under Slavery to Foreigners. They reſented, with the deepeſt Concern and Indignation, that ſo great a City, ſo antient a Seat of Liberty, that diffuſed the Splendor of the *Italian* Name over all the World, ſhould be driven to ſuch Extremities; that now there remained no Bridle to the Fury of the Ultramontanes, ſince the moſt honourable Member of the *Italic* Body, which had, above all others, maintained the common Fame and Eſtimation, was ſtruck dead and uſeleſs. D. A. 1509.

But the Pope, more than all the reſt of the Powers of *Italy*, began to be concerned at ſo great a Revolution. His Holineſs entertained a Jealouſy of the Power of the King of the *Romans* and of the King of *France*, and was therefore deſirous that they ſhould be in-

*A. D.* 1509. volved in ſome Difficulties, which might divert their Thoughts from oppreſſing himſelf. With this View he determined, tho' ſecretly, to put a Stop, as far as in him lay, to the Courſe of Misfortunes which overwhelmed the miſerable *Venetians*. And therefore he accepted the Letters written to him in the Name of the Doge of *Venice*, in which he beſeeched his Holineſs, with the moſt profound Submiſſion, that he would condeſcend to admit ſix Ambaſſadors, choſen out of the principal Members of the Senate, to ſupplicate, in the moſt humble Manner, his Pardon and Abſolution. The Letters were read, and the Demand propoſed in a Conſiſtory; and it being pleaded, in behalf of the Supplicants, that it was the antient Cuſtom of the Church not to exerciſe Severity towards thoſe who, repenting of their Crimes, demanded Pardon, it was agreed that they ſhould be admitted. The Ambaſſadors of *Cæſar* and of the King of *France* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed their Admiſſion, putting his Holineſs in Mind that, by the Treaty of *Cambray*, he was expreſly obliged

Pope inclines to the *Venetians*.

liged to proſecute the *Venetians* both with his ſpiritual and temporal Arms, till each of the Confederates had recovered what belonged to him. The Pope anſwered, that he had conſented to admit the Ambaſſadors of *Venice*, but did not intend to grant the Abſolution, before *Cæſar*, who was the only Member of the Alliance that had not recovered the Whole of his Pretenſions, ſhould be put in full Poſſeſſion of all that belonged to him. *A. D.* 1509.

THIS Step of the Pope ſomewhat revived the Spirits of the *Venetians*, and they began not to deſpair of their Preſervation. But they were much more effectually relieved from the extreme Terror, with which they had been ſeized, by the Reſolution of the King of *France* to obſerve indeed faithfully and punctually his Engagements with *Cæſar*, but, after he had acquired what he expected for himſelf, not to proceed with his Army beyond his own Bounds. For this Reaſon when it was in his Power to make himſelf Maſter of *Verona*, which City had Hopes of the *Venetians* revive.

A. D. 1509. ſent Deputies to offer him their Obedience, and to ſurrender the Place into his Hands, after he had taken *Peſchiera*; and when he might in like manner have taken Poſſeſſion without Oppoſition of *Padoua* and other Towns abandoned by the *Venetians*, he refuſed the Offers, and directed the Deputies of *Verona* to preſent the Keys of their City to the Ambaſſadors of *Cæſar*, who attended his Army *, On the ſame Account he continued with his whole Army encamped at *Peſchiera*, which Town, invited by the Commodiouſneſs of its Situation, he retained in his own Poſſeſſion, tho' it belonged to the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and had been formerly, together with *Aſola* and *Lunato*, ſeized by the *Venetians*. The Marquis durſt not refuſe him, but had the Liberty to retain to himſelf the Revenues of the Place, and had the Promiſe of an Equivalent in Recompence.

About

* The King of *France* would not accept the Keys of *Verona* becauſe he would not contravene the League of *Cambray*; but he ſent thither *Andrea di Burgo*, an Agent of *Maximilian*, who took Poſſeſſion of that City in the Name of his Prince.

A. D. 1509.

ABOUT this Time the Caſtle of *Cremona* was ſurrendered upon Articles, by which it was agreed that the Garriſon ſhould be ſafe in their Lives and Effects, except thoſe who had been Subjects to the King of *France*, and the *Venetian* Noblemen, who had the King's Word of Honour given them for their Lives, but were to remain his Priſoners. The Example of *Verona* was followed by *Padoua*, *Vicenza*, and the other Places on the *Terra firma*, except the City of *Trevigi*, which, being abandoned by the *Venetian* Magiſtrates and Garriſon, would have done the ſame, had *Cæſar* appeared with ever ſo ſmall a Number of Troops, or even ſome Perſon of Authority in his Name. But one *Lionardo da Dreſſina*, an Exile of *Vicenza*, being come to *Trevigi*, tho' without Forces, Arms, or any Pretence of Authority, and admitted into the Place, where he expected to receive, in the Name of *Cæſar*, the Submiſſion of the Inhabitants, in the like manner as it had happened to him at *Padoua*, the Exiles of that City, who had been lately

*Trevigi* firm to the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1509. reſtored by the *Venetians*, and out of Gratitude devoted to their Intereſt, began to be tumultuous. On this Occaſion the Populace, who were likewiſe well affected to the *Venetian* Government, made an Inſurrection, and having at their Head one *Marco* a Shoemaker, amidſt a vaſt Concourſe, and with loud Shouts from the Multitude, carried into the principal Square the *Venetian* Standard, crying out, with one Voice, *San Marco*, proteſting that they would acknowledge no other Government nor Lord. This Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants was not a little confirmed by the Ambaſſador of the King of *Hungary*, who in his Way to *Venice* paſſing through *Trevigi*, happened to find himſelf in the Midſt of the Tumult, and exhorted the People againſt Rebellion. So they drove out *Dreſſina*, and received into their City Six Hundred *Venetian* Foot; and ſoon after the Army, which was increaſed by the Troops arrived from *Sclavonia*, and thoſe which were returned from *Romagna*, and had deſigned to form a Camp ſtrongly entrenched between *Marghera* and *Meſtre*, entered *Trevigi*. Now

Now all Hands were ſet at Work, with the utmoſt Diligence, on the Fortifications, and the Horſe were ordered to ſcour the neighbouring Country, and bring all the Proviſions they could find into the City, not only to ſupply the Neceſſities of the Inhabitants, but alſo for the Uſe of the City of *Venice*, where they were amaſſing vaſt Quantities from all Parts. *A. D.* 1509.

THE principal Cauſe of this Accident, which gave the *Venetians* Hopes of ſaving ſome Part of their Dominions, and made Way for many other Events of great Importance, was the negligent and diſorderly Conduct of *Cæſar*. For in ſo rapid a Courſe of Victories the Public heard nothing of him all the while but his Name, tho' by the Terror of the *French* Arms ſo many Towns were ſurrendered to him, which by his Preſence he might have eaſily preſerved. But after the Confederacy made at *Cambray*, he ſtaid ſome time in *Flanders*, in order to receive a voluntary Contribution of Money from thoſe People, to enable him to carry on

Ill Conduct of *Maximilian*.

A. D. 1509. on the War; which he had no ſooner received than, according to his Cuſtom, he ſquandered away in needleſs Expences. And tho' he ſet out from *Mechlin* armed, and with all the imperial Pomp and Formalities, and arrived on the Borders of *Italy*, ſpreading a Report that he would begin the War before the Time appointed by the Treaty, yet, labouring under his uſual Difficulties and Embarraſments, he proceeded no further. Nor was he to be moved by the preſſing Inſtances of the Pope, who, from the Terror which he had conceived of the *French* Arms, was continually ſolliciting him to come into *Italy*, and the better to enable him to do it had ſent him Fifty Thouſand Ducats by *Conſtantino* of *Macedonia*, having before conſented that he ſhould appropriate to his Uſe One Hundred Thouſand Ducats which had ſeveral Years ago been repoſited in *Germany*, to be ſpent in a War againſt the Infidels. And beſides theſe Sums he had received of the King of *France* One Hundred Thouſand Ducats for the Inveſtiture of *Milan*. It is true that when he arrived near *Inſpruck*, and received the News

News of the Battle of *Vaila*, he immediately ordered the Duke of *Brunſwick* to recover the Province of *Friuli*. But he himſelf never ſtirred, and loſt ſo fair an Opportunity, for Want of Money, all the Sums he had received in ſo many Places not being ſufficient to anſwer his Prodigality. At laſt he advanced as far as *Trent*, from whence he ſent Letters of Thanks to the King of *France*, for having by his Means recovered his Towns, and to aſſure him that, for the greater Teſtimony of his hearty good Will towards him, and that the Memory of all former Offences might be utterly aboliſhed, he had cauſed a Book, in which were recorded all the Injuries which had been done by the Kings of *France* to the Empire and to the *German* Nation in Times paſt, and which was kept at *Spires*, to be committed to the Flames. A. D. 1509.

WHILE *Maximilian* was at *Trent*, on the 13th Day of *June* he received a Viſit from the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who came to treat about Affairs relating to the common Cauſe. His Eminence was received with ex-

*A. D.* 1509. extraordinary Marks of Honour, and promiſed *Cæſar*, in the Name of his King, an auxiliary Regiment of Five Hundred Lances. After they had diſpatched the Buſineſs that lay before them in perfect Harmony, it was agreed that *Cæſar* and the King of *France* ſhould have an Interview and Conference in the open Field near the Town of *Garda* on the Confines of their reſpective Dominions. For this Purpoſe the King of *France* put himſelf in Readineſs to be preſent on the Day prefixed, and with the ſame Deſign *Cæſar* came to *Riva di Trento*; where he had not ſtayed above two Hours before he ſuddenly returned to *Trent*, ſending notice at the ſame time to the King of *France*, that ſome new Accidents had happened in *Friuli*, which obliged him to return, and entreated him to continue at *Cremona*, promiſing to return very ſoon in order to hold the Conference according to Appointment. This Change of Mind, if it be poſſible to aſſign the true Reaſon in a Prince of ſo fickle a Temper, many aſcribed to ſomething privately whiſpered in his Ear, which had thrown him into

An Interview appointed and fails.

Suſpi-

Suſpicions, as he was by Nature very credulous. Others imputed it to his Conſciouſneſs that, having but a ſmall Court and few Attendants, he could not appear with that Dignity and Reputation which could any way come in Compariſon with the Pomp and Grandeur of the King of *France*. But *Lewis*, who was deſirous of leſſening his great Expences by diſbanding his Army with all Speed, made Proviſion for his immediate Return into *France*, and ſet out for *Milan*, without hearkening to *Maximilian*'s Propoſal. Nor could he be diverted from his Reſolution by *Matteo Lango*, now Biſhop of *Goritz*, who was ſent for that Purpoſe, and followed the King as far as *Cremona*, earneſtly entreating him to have a little Patience and wait, aſſuring him of his Maſter's moſt certain and ſpeedy Return. *A. D.* 1509.

THE Removal of the Perſon and Army of the moſt Chriſtian King from the Confines of *Cæſar*'s Dominions had an ill Effect on his Affairs, and greatly diminiſhed his Reputation. And yet, tho' he might eaſily have provided for the Defence

*A. D.* 1509. fence of *Padoua* and other Towns with what Force he had about him, he took no Care to put Garriſons in them, either becauſe he was naturally inconſtant and remiſs, or had ſome other Enterprize firſt in View; or elſe becauſe he thought it would be more for his Honour to make a Deſcent into *Italy* at the Head of a greater Army; and, as if the preliminary Requiſites were brought to Perfection, and there was nothing more to do, he propoſed, with the united Forces of the whole Confederacy, to attack the City of *Venice*. A Project to which the King of *France* readily hearkened, but was diſagreeable to the Pope, and openly contradicted by the King of *Aragon*.

Affairs of *Piſa*. IN the mean time the *Florentines* gave the finiſhing Stroke to the War againſt the *Piſans*. For after they had prevented the Importation of Corn into *Piſa*, they made an Augmentation of their Troops, and reſolved to employ their utmoſt Force and Induſtry to hinder all Supplies of any Kind of Proviſion from entering into *Piſa*, either by Sea or Land. This could not be

be accompliſhed without ſome Difficulty, on account of the Vicinity of the Territory belonging to the *Luccheſe*, who in this reſpect were no faithful Obſervers of the Agreement they had lately made with the *Florentines* whenever they had an Opportunity to tranſgreſs it in private. The Scarcity of Proviſions however increaſing every Day in *Piſa*, was become at laſt intolerable to the Peaſants; wherefore thoſe Heads of the Citizens who had the Direction of the public Reſolutions, and were followed by the greateſt Part of the *Piſan* Youth, in order to quiet the Minds of the Peaſants by their uſual Arts, ſet on Foot, by Mediation of the Lord of *Piombino*, a Treaty for making an Agreement with the *Florentines*. To negotiate this Treaty, which was artfully ſpun out to a great Length, *Nicolo Macchiavelli*, Secretary to the *Florentines*, and a Number of *Piſan* Ambaſſadors, choſen out of the Citizens and Peaſants, were ſent to *Piombino*. But *Piſa* was a City very difficult to block up, having a wide mountainous Territory, full of Ditches and Bogs, which render it difficult to intercept

A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. cept any Convoy of Proviſions into the Place, eſpecially in the Night, conſidering how ready the *Luccheſe* were ever to ſupply them, together with the reſolute Diſpoſition of the *Piſans*, who never ſcrupled to expoſe themſelves to all manner of Dangers and Fatigue to bring Proviſions into the Town.

IN order to ſurmount theſe Difficulties, the Generals of the *Florentines* reſolved to divide the Army into three Parts, that being diſtributed into ſeveral Quarters, it might the more commodiouſly prevent all Entrance into *Piſa*. They poſted one Part of the Forces at *Mazzano*, to take care of the Gate that leads to the Hills; a Second at *San Piero a Rena* and at *San Jacopo*, oppoſite to the Gate of *Lucca*; and the Third near the old Church of *San Piero in Grado*, which lies between *Piſa* and the Mouth of the *Arno*. In each Camp, which was well fortified, they placed One Thouſand Foot, beſides a good Number of Horſe; and, for the better Security of the Road that leads thro' the Valley of *Oſole* to Mount *San Giuliano*

*Giuliano*, and ſo over the Hills, they erected, towards the great Hoſpital, a Redoubt capable of containing Two Hundred and Fifty Foot. *A. D.* 1509.

By this Proceeding the Wants of the *Piſans* daily increaſing, they formed a Deſign of procuring ſome Relief by Stratagem, ſince they found it impracticable by Force. For this Purpoſe they dealt with one *Alfonſo del Mutolo*, a young Man of *Piſa*, who had not long before been taken Priſoner by a Party of *Florentines*, and had received very great Favours from the Man who took him. This Fellow they employed to offer the *Florentines*, by Means of his Intereſt, to put into their Hands by Stealth the Gate of *Lucca*, deſigning when the Camp at *San Jacopo* ſhould advance by Night to take Poſſeſſion of the Gate, to admit as many as came, and then cut them to Pieces, and at the ſame time to attack one of the other Camps, which, by Appointment, were to move nearer to the City in order to favour the Enterpriſe. But the Troops approaching not in a raſh and diſorderly

*A. D.* 1509. Manner, as was expected, the *Piſans* reaped no other Benefit of their Plot, than the killing a few Men, who had entered the Portal, among whom was *Canaccio da Prato Vecchio*, the Man who had taken Priſoner this *Alfonſo*, in confidence of whoſe Faith the Deſign had been concerted; there periſhed alſo, by a Cannon Shot, *Pagolo da Parrana*, Captain of a Troop of *Florentine* light Horſe.

A Plot miſcarries.

THE *Piſans* diſappointed in their Project, and no Corn now being brought to *Piſa* but in very ſmall Quantities, and that by Stealth, and with very great Danger to the Importers, the *Florentines*, to increaſe their Diſtreſs, would not ſuffer the uſeleſs Mouths to come out of the City, but inflicted various Puniſhments on thoſe who came forth. Hence the Neceſſaries of Life bore an exceſſive Price, and there not being a Quantity ſufficient for all, many died for Want of Food. And yet, in the Midſt of all this Diſtreſs, the Obſtinacy of thoſe Citizens who were at the Head of the Adminiſtration was greater than the public Wants. Thoſe Ma-

Magiſtrates, who had rather ſee the final Deſtruction of their Country, than yield even to ſo dreadful a Neceſſity, laboured to put off from Day to Day an Accommodation, and to feed the Multitude with Hopes ſometines of one kind, ſometimes of another; and above all they endeavoured to make them believe that by the Coming of *Cæſar*, who was every Day expected in *Italy*, the *Florentines* would be obliged to break up their Camps, and leave the City at Liberty. *A. D.* 1509.

BUT Part of the Peaſants, and particularly thoſe who had been at *Piombino*, where they had learned what were the Politics of their Leaders, made an Inſurrection, and conſtrained their Rulers to enter upon a new Treaty with the *Florentines*. The Negotiation was tranſacted with *Alamanno Salviati*, Commiſſary of that Part of the Army which was quartered at *San Piero in Grado*, and after various Diſputes, notwithſtanding the ſame Citizens continually uſed their utmoſt Diligence to prevent an Accommo- Agreement between the *Florentines* and *Piſans*.

A. D. 1509. dation, the Treaty was brought to a Concluſion.

THE Conditions were very favourable to the *Piſans*, if it be conſidered that they not only obtained a full and free Remiſſion of all Offences and Miſdemeanours both public and private, but a Conceſſion alſo of many Privileges and Exemptions. They were beſides excuſed from making Reſtitution to the *Florentines* of thoſe moveable Goods of theirs, which they had ſeized at the Beginning of the Rebellion. So eagerly deſirous was the Republic to regain the Dominion of *Piſa*, and ſo ſtrong were their Apprehenſions that *Maximilian*, who had named the *Piſans* in the Treaty of *Cambray*, tho' that Nomination was not accepted by the King of *France*, or an unexpected Accident from ſome other Quarter ſhould interfere and croſs their Deſigns. And tho' they were certain that the *Piſans* would have been forced by Hunger to ſubmit within a very few Days, they choſe rather to make ſure of their Deſign by an Agreement, tho' upon hard Terms, than, without

without a Compoſition, to entruſt any Part of their Certainty to the Power of Fortune. This Agreement, tho' begun to be negotiated in the Camp, was afterwards under the Management of the *Piſan* Ambaſſadors concluded at *Florence*. In the Execution of this Treaty the Faith of the *Florentines* cannot be too much admired, who, tho' at ſuch Variance and Enmity, and exaſperated by numberleſs Injuries, were yet no leſs faithful and punctual in fulfilling their Promiſes, than they had been eaſy and gracious in making them. *A. D.* 1509.

IT is certain that the King of the *Romans* was not a little diſturbed at the Submiſſion of the *Piſans*, either becauſe he had perſuaded himſelf that the Dominion of that City would have been of mighty Service to him on many Occaſions, or becauſe he imagined that his giving Conſent that the *Florentines* ſhould have it, would have obtained of them a round Sum of Money, for want of which he let ſlip many fair Opportunities which offered themſelves without any

A. D. 1509. Pains or Induſtry of his own. While he thus neglected to ſerve himſelf of favourable Occaſions, and had ſcarce a Soldier of his own in *Vicenza* or *Padoua*, and by his Remiſſneſs had cooled the Ardor of the Inhabitants of thoſe Towns which were well affected, and often and ſuddenly ſhifted, with a few Troops about him, from Place to Place, the *Venetians* laid hold of the Opportunity that preſented for the Recovery of *Padoua*. They were induced to this Attempt by many Reaſons; for the Preſervation of *Trevigi* had ſhewed them what a wrong Step they had taken by Deſpair in precipitately abandoning their Empire on the *Terra firma*. And now by the ill Conduct of *Maximilian* they grew every Day leſs apprehenſive of his Power: They were not a little ſtimulated alſo by the Inſolence of the *Padouans*, who would not ſuffer the Profits of the Lands which many private *Venetians* poſſeſſed in the Territory of *Padoua* to be carried to *Venice* *; ſo

* The *Padouans* did not only refuſe to let the *Venetians* keep Poſſeſſion of their Lands, and to enjoy their Houſes in *Padoua*, but beſtowed them on the *Germans*. *Bembo*.

ſo that private Provocations conſpired with the Good of the Public. The *Venetians* were further encouraged by knowing that *Padoua* was but ill provided with Troops for its Defence, and that, by the inſolent Behaviour of the Nobleſs of *Padoua* towards the Commonalty, many were put in mind of the Moderation of the *Venetian* Government, and began to wiſh for the former Adminiſtration. On all theſe Conſiderations it was reſolved to make an Attempt to recover that City, for which they had the fairer Opportunity, as the greater Part of the Peaſants in the Territory of *Padoua* were at their Devotion. *A. D.* 1509.

IT was concerted therefore that *Andrea Gritti*, one of the Proveditors, ſhould leave the Army, which conſiſted of Four Hundred Men at Arms, above Two Thouſand Stradiotti and light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Foot, and advance to *Novale* in the *Padouan*. On the Road he was to be joined by Part of the Foot, which, in conjunction with a great Number of Peaſants, had been ordered to *Villa di Mirano*, and then to direct his

*A. D.* 1569. March towards *Padoua*, in order to make an Attack on the Gate of *Codalunga*, while, to ſtrike the greater Terror and Confuſion into the Defendants, Two Thouſand Peaſants, Three Hundred Foot, and ſome Horſe, ſhould attack the Portello on the oppoſite Part of the City; and the better to conceal the Deſign, *Chriſtofano Moro*, the other Proveditor, was to make a Feint of marching to beſiege the Town of *Cittadella*. The Project was well concerted, and proved as ſucceſsful as it was well conducted. For the Troops arriving early in the Morning, found the Gate of *Codalunga* half open, thro' which a little before ſome Waggons loaded with Hay had entered the Town. The firſt of the *Venetians* took poſſeſſion of the Gate without any Difficulty, and waited, without making any Noiſe, for the Arrival of the reſt of the Troops, which were nigh at hand. When they came up they all entered, and preſented themſelves in the Square of *Padoua*, a City of vaſt Compaſs, but thinly inhabited, before the News of their Coming was ſpread. Firſt marched the Che-

*Venetians ſurpriſe Padoua.*

valier

valier *della Volpe* with the light Horſe, then *Zitolo da Perugia*, and *Lattantio da Bergamo* with Part of the Foot. But the Citadel taking the Alarm, *Dreſſina*, conſtituted by *Maximilian* Governor of *Padoua*, with Three Hundred *German* Foot, which were the whole Garriſon, ſallied out into the Square, as did *Brunoro da Serego* with Fifty Horſe, in expectation that thoſe Citizens who were well affected to the *German* Government would take up Arms in their Favour, and aſſiſt them in repulſing the Enemy. But their Hopes had not the leaſt Foundation; for the City was ſo ſurprized and alarmed at the ſudden Entrance of ſuch a Number of the Enemy, that not a ſingle Inhabitant ſtirred. Abandoned therefore and unſupported, the *Germans* were ſoon forced to retire, with conſiderable Loſs, into the Caſtle and Cittadel, which being but ill fortified, they were in a few Hours obliged to ſurrender at Diſcretion. Thus was *Padoua* entirely reduced under ſubjection to the *Venetians*, who applied themſelves to appeaſe the Tumult, and to ſave the City, the greater Part of whoſe Inhabitants, thro'

*A. D.* 1509.

A. D. 1509. thro' the Inſolence and ill Conduct of the others, was become well affected to them; ſo that by this Care no Damage was done but to ſome Houſes of the *Jews* and of ſome *Padouans*, who had declared themſelves Enemies to the *Venetian* Name. This Day, being the Feſtival of *Santa Marina*, is ſtill ſolemnly celebrated at *Venice* by Orders of the State as an auſpicious Day, on which they began to recover their almoſt loſt Empire.

THE Fame of this Conqueſt ſet the whole Country round about in a Commotion; *Vicenza* would have been in the ſame Danger, had not *Conſtantino* of *Macedonia*, who happened to be near, thrown himſelf with ſome few Troops into that City. After the Recovery of *Padoua*, the *Venetians* eaſily reduced its whole Territory, as they had the Affections of the meaner ſort of People in the Towns, and alſo of the Peaſants. In the ſame Career of good Fortune they recovered the Town and Caſtles of *Lignago*, a Place very commodious for infeſting the whole Country about *Verona*, *Padoua*,

*Padoua*, and *Vicenza*. They made an Attempt alſo on the Tower of *Marcheſana* Eight Miles diſtant from *Padoua*, which lies very convenient for entering the *Poleſine di Rovigo*, or infeſting the Country of *Mantoua*, but miſcarried, becauſe the Cardinal *d' Eſte*, with a Body of Forces haſted to its Relief. *A. D.* 1509.

THE Adventure of *Padoua* did not retard, as many thought it would have done, the Return of the King of *France* beyond the Mountains. That Prince, juſt before his Departure, at the Town of *Biagraſſa*, entered into a new Convention with the Cardinal of *Pavia*, the Pope's Legate, by which his Holineſs and the King mutually obliged themſelves to protect each other, and agreed that either of them might enter into a Convention with any other Prince, provided it was not to the Prejudice of their preſent Confederacy. The King promiſed that he would not for the future take under his Protection, nor extend it in any manner to, any Subject, Feudatory, or Dependent, mediately or immediately, on the

Convention between the Pope and King of *France*.

A. D. 1509. the Church, expreſly diſannulling all Protections which had been hitherto granted to this very Day. A Promiſe little becoming the Honour of ſo great a King; ſince not long before the Duke of *Ferrara* coming to wait on his Majeſty, tho' at firſt the King ſhewed himſelf diſpleaſed, becauſe he had, without his Knowledge, accepted the Office of Gonfaloniere of the Church, yet he was afterwards reconciled, and received him into his Protection on the Payment of Thirty Thouſand Ducats. It was agreed alſo that the Pope ſhould have the Diſpoſal of the Biſhoprics, that were at preſent vacant, in all the King's Dominions; but that ſuch as ſhould become vacant within a certain Time ſhould be conferred according to the King's Nomination. And to give his Majeſty the more Satisfaction, the Pope ſent, by the ſame Cardinal of *Pavia*, the Bull of Cardinalſhip to the Biſhop of *Albi*, promiſing to inveſt him with that Dignity as ſoon as he came to *Rome*.

THIS Agreement being ſettled, the King haſtened his Departure out of *Italy*, and

and returned triumphant into *France*, having acquired vaſt Honour and Glory by a Victory ſo compleat, and obtained with ſo much Speed, over the *Venetians*. But as Men who find themſelves at length in poſſeſſion of what they had long deſired, ſeldom or never reap that Pleaſure and Felicity from it which at firſt they had expected, ſo neither did *Lewis* carry back with him greater Tranquillity of Mind, nor more Security to his Affairs; but, on the contrary, ſaw rather Matter prepared for greater Dangers and Changes, and himſelf under greater Perplexity in forming ſuch Reſolutions as the Events which had lately happened ſeemed to require. For if *Cæſar* went on in a Courſe of Proſperity, he would have more Reaſon to be afraid of him than he had before to be apprehenſive of the *Venetians*. And if the *Venetian* Power and Grandeur ſhould begin to revive and flouriſh, he would be perpetually ſubject to Jealouſies, and extraordinary Expences, for maintaining the Places he had taken from them. Nor was this all; for he muſt take care to aſſiſt *Maximilian* with Troops and A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. and Money, ſince if he ſhould abandon him, it was much to be ſuſpected that he would join with the *Venetians* againſt him, and, it was to be feared, in conjunction with the Catholic King, and perhaps alſo with the Pope. A moderate and ſparing Aſſiſtance was by no means ſufficient to preſerve the Friendſhip of the King of the *Romans*, it muſt be ſuch as to enable him to get the better of the *Venetians*: And to aſſiſt him with a mighty Force, beſides the vaſt Expence it would require, would be to throw himſelf into the ſame Danger from the Greatneſs of *Maximilian*. On account of theſe Difficulties he was at firſt dubious whether he ought to be pleaſed or grieved at the Revolution in *Padoua*. But when he compared the Security which he might expect from depriving the *Venetians* of their Dominions on the *Terra firma*, with the Troubles and Dangers that he had reaſon to apprehend from the Greatneſs of the King of the *Romans*, and with his Hopes of obtaining of him, by means of his Neceſſities, for a Sum of Money, the City of *Verona*, which he ardently deſired,

fired, as a Place very convenient for checking the Progreſs of any Movements that might be made in *Germany*, he concluded at laſt that it would be more for his Security and Profit to let things remain in ſuch a State, as to ſuffer *Maximilian* and the *Venetians* to exhauſt and weaken one another by long Wars and continual Expences, as would very probably be the Caſe. And he was much the more confirmed in thoſe Sentiments on account of his Agreement with the Pope; for he was in hopes to find in him a ſure Friend, and ſtedfaſt Ally. He had left however on the Borders of the *Veroneſe* Seven Hundred Lances under *La Paliſſe*, to be at *Cæſar*'s Diſpoſal, either for the Preſervation of the new Acquiſitions, or making further Conqueſts from the *Venetians*. Theſe Lances *Cæſar* ordered to *Vicenza*, and by that means the City of *Verona*, which having but a ſmall Garriſon was thought in Danger, was ſecured, and the *Venetian* Army, which lay before *Cittadella*, retired. A. D. 1509.

BEFORE

A. D. 1509.

BEFORE the King's Departure there happened another Accident in favour of the *Venetians*. For their Horſe, which were in *Lignago* making continually Excurſions over the Country, and even to the Gates of *Verona*, committed vaſt Ravages, which the Garriſon of *Verona*, conſiſting of no more than Two Hundred Horſe and Seven Hundred Foot, were in no Condition to prevent. The Biſhop of *Trent*, who was Governor of *Verona* for *Cæſar*, reſolving to form a Camp there, ſent for the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who with the Troop of Horſe which he had of the King lay at *Iſola della Scala*, a large Village in the *Veroneſe*, without a Wall, or any Fortifications, attentive to the Preparations which were making *. Here while he thought himſelf in abſolute Security, he became a remarkable Example to all Generals how much it concerns them to be vigilant and orderly in all Situations and at all Seaſons, and not

* The Marquis had been in *Verona*, and ſecured that City for *Cæſar*, but ſeeing his Slowneſs retired thence with Fifty *French* Lances to *Iſola della Scala*. *Equicola*.

not to place too much Confidence in their own Forces, or promiſe themſelves abſolute Safety from the Diſtance or Weakneſs of the Enemy. For the Marquis having agreed with ſome Stradiotti of the *Venetian* Army that they ſhould come to him in that Place, and inliſt under him, theſe Soldiers, from the Time they were firſt tampered with, gave notice of it to their Officers. On this Occaſion Orders were given for attempting to ſurpriſe him; for which Purpoſe *Lucio Malvezzo* with Two Hundred light Horſe, and *Zitolo da Perugia* with Eight Hundred Foot ſecretly brought from *Padoua* to *Lignago*, being joined by the Garriſon of this laſt mentioned Place, and by Fifteen Hundred Peaſants, put themſelves on the March; then ſending before them ſome Horſe, who were often to cry out, *Turco*, the Surname of the Marquis, to make it believed they were the Stradiotti he expected, they arrived on the Morning appointed by Break of Day at *Iſola della Scala*, and unſuſpected entered the Place without Reſiſtance, where finding all the Soldiers off the Guard, and the Servants and other

A. D. 1509.

*A. D.* 1509. Attendants of the Marquis aſleep, they made them Priſoners, among whom they took *Boyſi*, Lieutenant of the Marquis, and Nephew to the Cardinal of *Rouen*. The Marquis himſelf taking the Alarm eſcaped through a Window half naked, and hid himſelf in a Field of Corn, where he was diſcovered to the Enemy by a Peaſant of the Place, who preferring the Welfare of the *Venetians* to his own Profit, according to the general and ardent Inclination of the People of that Country, while he pretended to hearken to the vaſt Offers of the Marquis, and made a Show as if he intended to ſave him, acted the quite contrary Part. The Marquis was conducted to *Padoua*, and from thence to *Venice*, where, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the whole City, he was confined in the Turret of the public Palace *.

Marquis of *Mantoua* taken Priſoner.

CÆSAR

* *Leandro Alberti* aſcribes all the Merit of this Exploit to *Girolamo Pompei*, who, he ſays, wrote to the *Venetian* Proveditors, that if they would ſend him Two Hundred Horſe, he would, with the Aſſiſtance of the Mountaineers of *Carbone*, form a good Plot againſt the Marquis, on which they ſent him *Malvenzo*, &c. In Evidence of this Aſſertion he quotes ſome Letters which he had ſeen, and the Privileges granted by the *Venetian* Council of Ten to the *Pompean* Family in *Verona*.

A. D. 1509.

CÆSAR had hitherto given no obſtruction in any Quarter to the Progreſs of the *Venetians*, not being provided with a ſufficient Force to take the Field, and loſing his Time in the Mountains of *Vicenza*; where the Peaſantry of thoſe Parts, being well affected to the *Venetian* Name, and confiding in the Ruggedneſs of the Country, had broke out into open Rebellion. Deſcending afterwards into the Plain, when *Padua* had been retaken by the *Venetians*, he was attacked, and not without Danger, by an infinite Number of Peaſants who attended his Coming at a ſtrong Paſs; but he put them to Flight, and proceeded to *Scala* in the *Vicentine*. The *Venetian* Army had recovered a great Part of the Territory of *Vicenza*, and taken *Serravalle*, an important Paſs, where they exerciſed great Cruelties upon the *Germans*. Wherefore *Maximilian* having a few Days after recovered that Place, retaliated the ſame Cruelties upon the *Italian* Soldiers, and upon the Inhabitants *. And his Forces



* *Mocenigo* ſays that the *Germans* made uſe of Dogs as

*A. D.* 1509. not increaſing, he employed himſelf in ſmall Enterpriſes, now in taking one Caſtle, then in beſieging another, very little to the Honour and Reputation of the *Cæſarean* Name, while at the ſame time he propoſed to the reſt of the Confederates, as his Imaginations were always greater than his Forces and Opportunities, to join their whole Strength together, and to ſeize upon the City of *Venice*, employing for that Purpoſe, beſides their Preparations by Land, the Navies of the King of *France*, and of the King of *Aragon*, and the Pope's Gallies, which were now all joined together in one Fleet. To this Propoſal, tho' not treated of in the Confederacy at *Cambray*, the King of *France* would have conſented, provided it were qualified with ſuch Conditions as that the Acquiſition might redound to the common Advantage. But the Pope was averſe to it; and as for the King of *Aragin*, both now and when formerly this Point

*Maximilian* propoſes the Conqueſt of *Venice*.

as the Inſtruments of their Cruelty to run upon the Scent in Search of the Women and Children, who ſought to hide themſelves among the Corn and in Caves, and with unuſual Barbarity hunted after Chriſtians as they would after wild Beaſts.

Point was more amply debated, he was againſt it, becauſe he imagined it would be for the Benefit of the King of *France*, tho' he coloured his Diſlike under pretence of its being a moſt unjuſt and diſhonourable Undertaking. *A. D.* 1509

Management of the War in *Iſtria* and *Friuli*.

WHILE the Countries about *Padoua*, *Vicenza* and *Verona* were thus ravaged by the *Germans* and *Italians*, the Province of *Friuli*, and that Part of *Iſtria* which was ſubject to the *Venetians* was expoſed to moſt cruel Devaſtations. For the Prince of *Anhalt*, being ordered by *Cæſar* to make an Invaſion into *Friuli* with Ten Thouſand Men of the Militia, after he had in vain attacked *Monte Falcone*, beſieged and took the Town and Caſtle of *Cadoro*, with great Slaughter of the Defendants. On the other ſide, ſome light Horſe, and ſome of the *Venetian* Foot, ſupported by a great Body of Peaſants took by Storm the Town of *Valdiſera*; and *Bellona*, where the *Germans* had no Garriſon, ſurrendered to them upon Articles. Again the Duke of *Brunſwick*, by Orders from *Cæſar*, after he had miſ-

A. D. 1509. carried in his Deſign upon *Udine*, the Capital of *Friuli*, went and laid Siege to *Cividale d' Auſtria*, ſituated on a riſing Ground by the River *Natiſone*, where *Federigo Contarino* commanded with a ſmall Garriſon, but he depended on the Courage of the Inhabitants, who were very reſolute to defend themſelves. *Gio. Pagolo Gradenigo*, Proveditor of *Friuli*, coming with Eight Hundred Horſe and Five Hundred Foot to raiſe the Siege, was routed, and put to Flight by the *Germans*. But his Rout did not leſſen the Courage of the Beſieged, and tho' the Duke battered *Cividale*, and ſtormed it with great Fury, he could by no Means make himſelf Maſter of the Place. In *Iſtria*, *Chriſtofano Frangipane*, near to the Caſtle of *Verme*, defeated the *Venetian* Commiſſaries ſupported by the Country People, and in conſequence of his Victory burnt and plundered whatever came in his Way all over the Country, and made himſelf Maſter of *Caſtel Nuovo* and of the Town of *Raſprucchio*. To put a Stop to theſe Proceedings, the *Venetians* ordered thither *Angelo Treviſano*, Captain of their Navy,

Navy, with Sixteen Galleys, who took by Storm, at the firſt Attack, the Town of *Fiume*, and attempted to get poſſeſſion of the City of *Trieſte*, but without Succeſs. He afterwards recovered *Raſpruchio* by Force, and then returned with his Galleys towards *Venice*, leaving the Countries of *Iſtria* and *Friuli* in a deplorable Condition, for ſometimes the *Venetians* being ſtronger, at other times the *Germans*, thoſe Towns which were taken and plundered by one of them, were afterwards retaken and plundered by the others, and the ſame Alternative happened frequently, ſo that the Lives and Eſtates of the Inhabitants being expoſed as a continual Prey, the whole Country was miſerably exhauſted and ruined. *D. A.* 1509.

WHILE the temporal Arms were thus employed, there were Diſputes in *Rome* about the Uſe of the ſpiritual Weapons. Juſt before the Recovery of *Padoua* the Six Ambaſſadors of the *Venetian* Senate made their Entry into *Rome* with a mournful Air and Equipage; and whereas they were accuſtomed to enter that City with

Sad Entry of the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors into *Rome*.

*A. D.* 1509. the greateſt Pomp and Magnificence, and to be met by a Train of the whole Court, they now not only had no Honours nor Attenance paid them, but made their Entry, becauſe the Pope would have it ſo, by Night. Nor were they admitted into the Preſence of his Holineſs, but directed to the Palace of the Cardinal of *Naples*, who, with other Cardinals and Prelates, was commiſſioned to treat with them; the Ambaſſadors of the King of the *Romans*, and of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic Majeſties vehemently oppoſing their obtaining Abſolution from the Eccleſiaſtic Cenſures; whilſt the Archbiſhop of *York* openly declared in their Favour; he was ſent to *Rome* by *Henry* VIII, who but a few Months before had ſucceeded his Father *Henry* VII, in the Kingdom of *England*, chiefly for this Purpoſe.

BUT the Attention of the Public was at this Time employed in Expectation of much greater Events: For *Cæſar*, having aſſembled all his own Forces, together with thoſe he was ſupplied with from many

many Potentates, was preparing to march with a very powerful Army to beſiege *Padoua*. On the other Side the *Venetian* Senate, judging that their Safety wholly conſiſted in the Preſervation of that City, attended, with the utmoſt Diligence, to make the neceſſary Proviſions for its Defence. For this End, beſides the Garriſon of *Trevigi*, they ordered their whole Army to enter the Town, together with all the Forces which they had been able to collect from every Quarter, and furniſhed the Place with an infinite Quantity of Artillery of all Sorts, and Proviſions, collected from all Parts of the Country, ſufficient for many Months. They had alſo an innumerable Multitude of Peaſants and Pioneers, by whoſe Labour, beſides the making of Dams and Sluices, and ſtrengthening them with great Quantities of Wood and Iron Bars, for preventing the Enemy from cutting off the Waters which were brought from near the Town of *Limine* to *Padoua*, they had alſo made, and were continually adding, ſurpriſing Fortifications to the Walls of the City. And yet, tho' they had made ſuch Pro-

A. D. 1509.

viſions,

A. D. 1509. viſions, that no greater could be deſired, the Anxiety and Sollicitude of the *Venetian* Senate were not to be conceived, the Senators continually employing themſelves both Day and Night in ſtudying, recollecting, or propoſing ſome new Means or other, which they thought proper to be uſed in the preſent Circumſtance. And the Affair being of ſuch Importance as to be the conſtant Subject of Debate in the Senate, *Leonardo Loredano*, their Doge, a Perſon venerable for his Age and the Dignity of his Office, and who had been in that high Station many Years, ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

Speech of the Doge of *Venice*.

" Since it evidently appears, moſt excellent Senators, that on the Preſervation of the City of *Padoua* depends not only all Hope of ever recovering our Empire, but even of preſerving our own Liberty; and, on the contrary, that the Loſs of *Padoua* would moſt certainly be followed by the utter Ruin and Deſolation of this Country, we muſt be obliged to confeſs that the Proviſions and Preparations that have been hitherto made againſt ſuch an Event,

Event, tho' very conſiderable and ſurpriſing, are yet not ſufficient, whether it be in regard of what is requiſite for the Security of that City, or what belongs to the Dignity of our Republic. For in an Affair of ſo great Importance, and of ſo great Danger, it is not enough that the Proviſions we have made be ſo ample as to afford us mighty Hopes that *Padoua* may be defended by them: But it is requiſite that they ſhould be ſo powerful, as far as human Care and Induſtry can provide, to beget in us a Certainty that we ſhall ſecure the Place, and have nothing to dread from all ſuch unforeſeen Accidents as owe their Birth to Fortune, a very powerful Agent in all ſublunary Affairs, but eſpecially in thoſe relating to War. Nor is it a Reſolution worthy of the antient Fame and Glory of the *Venetian* Name, entirely to commit the Defence of the public Honour and Safety, and of our own Lives, with thoſe of our Wives and Children, to the ſole Valour and Reſolution of Foreigners and mercenary Soldiers, and not rather run voluntarily ourſelves into the Field of Action at the Head

A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. Head of our own People, and fight with Heart and Hand in defence of a Place of the laſt Importance. For if we come to be once diſpoſſeſſed of *Padoua*, it will be to no Purpoſe to exert our poor Remains of Strength, there will be then no Room left to diſplay our Valour, and our Riches will be of no Uſe towards our Preſervation. But ſince happily it is not yet too late to aſſiſt our dear Country, we ought to take the greateſt Pains, and exert our utmoſt Force for that Purpoſe, and not wait till we become a Prey to thoſe cruel Wretches who long for nothing more than to plunder our Subſtance, and ſuck our Blood. The Preſervation of our Country is not only attended with the public Good, but the Good and Welfare of every private Perſon are connected with the Safety of the Community. For if the Commonwealth be ruined and enſlaved, who knows not that the Subſtance, the Honour, and the Lives of private Men muſt fall a Sacrifice to the Avarice, the Luſt, and the Cruelty of the Enemy? But ſince the Defence of the Republic carries with it the Preſervation of our Country,

Country, is not this a ſufficient Reward? A Reward worthy of its generous Citizens, full of Glory and Splendor in the Eye of the World, and meritorious and acceptable in the Sight of God? It is the Opinion even of the Heathens, that "there is a particular Place appointed in Heaven, in which all thoſe who have relieved, preſerved, or increaſed their Country, ſhall enjoy eternal Felicity."* And what Country was there ever in Being that more deſerved to be aſſiſted and maintained by its Children than this of ours; which obtains, and has for many Ages obtained, the chief Place among all the Cities of the World? and from which its Citizens reap vaſt and innumerable Conveniences, Profits, and Honours? A City truly admirable, if we conſider either its natural Advantages, or the Marks of its Grandeur from an almoſt perpetual Courſe of Proſperity, or the noble Qualities, and generous Diſpoſition of its Inhabitants. Its Situation is moſt aſtoniſhing, it being the only City in the World that is ſeated amidſt the ſalt Waters, and ſo compact in Bene-

A. D. 1509.

* This Paſſage is taken from *Cicero's Somnium Scipionis.*

A. D. 1509. all its Parts, that it enjoys at once the Benefits of the Water, and the Pleaſures of the Land; ſecure, by its not being ſeated on the Continent, from Attacks by Land, and ſafe, by its Situation in ſhallow Waters, from naval Aſſaults. How ſtately are the Edifices, private as well as public: erected with incredible Coſt and Magnificence, and full of the moſt ornamental Pieces of foreign Marble, and rare Stones, imported from all Parts of the World! What an infinite Quantity of excellent Pictures, Statues, carved Pieces, and Ornaments of Moſaic Work! And what a Number of the moſt beautiful Columns, and other like Pieces of the moſt curious Workmanſhip! What City is there on the Face of the Earth that has a greater Concourſe of Foreigners, who come hither partly for the Benefit of living ſecurely in this free and bleſſed Country, and partly for the Sake of Commerce. Hence is *Venice* plentifully ſupplied with all Sorts of Merchandiſes and Manufactures, whence the Riches of our Citizens are continually increaſing, and our Republic receives a

this

greater Revenue within the Compaſs of this City only, than many Kings from their whole Kingdoms. I ſay nothing of the Numbers of learned Men in all Arts and Sciences, the Brightneſs of the Scholar, and the Bravery of the Soldier, by means of which, in conjunction with other Advantages, this Republic has acquired more Glory to itſelf and to its Subjects, from its Exploits, than ever any Nation obtained ſince the Time of the *Romans*. I omit to obſerve how ſurpriſing it is to ſee in a City where nothing grows, and which is very full of Inhabitants, a Superfluity of all Things. Our Command was at firſt confined to theſe barren and naked Rocks; but the brave Spirit of our Anceſtors extended their Sway firſt over the neareſt Seas, and the circumjacent Lands, from whence afterwards, by happy Succeſſes, they enlarged their Dominion to more diſtant Seas and Provinces, and penetrated to the utmoſt Bounds of the Eaſt *, acquiring ſo great an Empire by Sea and Land, and maintaining it ſo long

A. D. 1509.

* He means no more than the Eaſtermoſt Coaſts of the *Levant*, or *Mediterranean* Sea, for the *Venetians* never ſailed on the Ocean.

A. D. 1509. long a Time, ſtill increaſing their Power, and enlarging their Bounds to ſuch a Degree, that during a long Courſe of Years *Venice* was the Dread and Terror of all the other Cities of *Italy*, and no other Means was thought ſufficient to humble and depreſs her, than a Concurrence of the Frauds and Forces of all the Princes in Chriſtendom. All our Proſperity may be juſtly attributed to the particular Care of the Almighty; for this City is celebrated throughout the World for an impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice, the Name of which alone has induced many States and Nations voluntarily to ſubmit to our Dominion. And what City, what Eſtabliſhment, is more diſtinguiſhed for Religion, and Piety towards the ſupreme Being than our dear Country, in which are ſo many religious Houſes, and ſo great a Number of Churches, full of the richeſt and moſt coſtly Ornaments, and ſuch a profuſe and aſtoniſhing Sight of Veſſels and Utenſils dedicated to the divine Worſhip? Where are there ſo many Hoſpitals, and charitable Foundations, in which Works of Charity are daily exerciſed

at

at a vaſt Expence, and with unſpeakable Benefit to the Poor? In all theſe Reſpects our Country deſerves the Preference before all others. But there is one Prerogative in which ſhe tranſcends all the Praiſes and Glory that ſhe can aſcribe to herſelf. Our Country had its Original and its Liberty at the ſame Time, and there is not a Citizen that is born or dies in *Venice*, but is born and dies free. Nor was this Liberty ever interrupted or diſturbed, through the happy Effects of civil Concord, the Principles of which are ſo firmly rooted in the Minds of our People, that as ſoon as they enter into our Senate, and into our public Debates, they lay aſide all private Contentions and Animoſities. For the ſame Reaſon has our Form of Government, which is a Mixture of all that is moſt commendable in every Kind of public Adminiſtration, and compoſed with ſuch Harmony as to be in every Part proportionable, and perfectly anſwerable to itſelf, laſted for ſo many Ages without civil Seditions, Wars or Bloodſhed between its Citizens, and remained inviolable and unblemiſhed.

A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. A Praiſe, which ſolely belongs to our Republic, and is more than *Rome* or *Carthage*, *Athens* or *Lacedemon*, or any of thoſe Republics that are the moſt celebrated and extolled by the Antients could ever boaſt. And we have the Happineſs to ſee eſtabliſhed, among ourſelves, ſuch a Form of Government as the greateſt Profeſſors of Politics could never imagine or deſcribe. Shall it then be ſaid, that ſo great and ſo glorious a Country, which has ſtood ſo many Years the Bulwark of the Faith, and Splendor of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, has been deſtitute of the Aſſiſtance of her Sons and of her Citizens? Who is there among us that dares refuſe to hazard his own Life, and the Lives of his Children for her Preſervation? which intirely depending on the Defence of *Padoua*, who can excuſe himſelf from voluntarily going thither in Perſon to defend it? For tho' we were moſt certainly aſſured that we have a ſufficient Strength in the Place, does it not concern our own Honour? does it not concern the Glory of the *Venetian* Name, that all the World ſhould know

know that we ourſelves run with the greateſt Readineſs and Alacrity to its Defence and Preſervation? It has been the Fate of *Venice*, that in a few Days we ſhould be deprived of ſo great a part of our Empire: But we ought not to complain ſo much of the Malignity of Fortune, for ſuch Events are common to all Republics and Kingdoms, as lament that we have been forgetful of our Conſtancy, which had hitherto remained unſhaken; and loſing the Memory of ſo many generous and glorious Examples of our Anceſtors, we yielded, with too ſudden a Deſpair, to one powerful Stroke of Fortune; and have not been Patterns to our Sons of that noble Fortitude and Reſolution of which our Fathers had ſet us an Example. A Turn however is now given to Affairs, and an Opportunity offered, if we ſhew ourſelves Men, of recovering an Ornament, which is not loſt, but only miſlaid. For by throwing ourſelves boldly into Danger, and manfully reſiſting the Shocks of ill Fortune, we ſhall cancel the Diſgrace we have undergone; and when the World ſhall ſee that we have not yet loſt A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. our antient Spirit and Valour, they will rather aſcribe our late calamitous Event to a neceſſary Fatality of the Times, which neither human Counſels nor Conſtancy were able to reſiſt, than to our own Fault and Shame. If it were therefore practicable for us in a Body to repair to *Padoua*, and to leave this City for ſome Days, without Prejudice to its Defence, and other preſſing Neceſſities of the public Buſineſs, I ſhould be the firſt that, without expecting your Reſolution, ſhould ſet out, ſince I know not how I can better ſpend theſe laſt Days of my old Age, than either in participating, with my Sight and Preſence, of ſo glorious a Victory; or elſe, which God forbid, fall with my Fellow Citizens, and not ſurvive the Ruin of my Country. But ſince *Venice* cannot be left without a public Magiſtracy, by whoſe Counſels, Proviſions, and Orderings, *Padoua* is as much defended as by thoſe who are in it, and the uſeleſs Multitude of the ſuperannuated would rather be a Charge than a Safeguard to that City; and on the other hand ſuch Accidents may happen, as to make it

it inconvenient to deprive *Venice* of all her Youth, for theſe Reaſons my Thoughts and Advice are, that there be choſen Two Hundred of the principal of all our young Noblemen, each of them to be attended with a Number of Friends and Dependants in Arms, in proportion to his Abilities, and all to repair to *Padoua*, and there to act as much as ſhall be thought neceſſary in their Station for the Defence of the Town. My own two Sons, with a good Company of Attendants, ſhall be the firſt to execute what I, their Father and your Prince, have firſt propoſed. I freely offer their Perſons, in ſo great a Danger, to their Country. By this Means the City of *Padoua* will be rendered more ſecure, the mercenary Soldiers which are there in Garriſon, when they ſee our Youth ready to mount the Guard, and to perform all the military Services, will be inſpired with unſpeakable Courage and Alacrity, as being aſſured, by finding themſelves in conjunction with our Children, that we ſhall never let them want Proviſions nor Reinforcements. And the noble Youth and others who

*A. D.* 1509.

A. D. 1509. are not to go upon this Service, will be ſtimulated by ſo bright an Example, and animated to expoſe themſelves in like manner, whenever it ſhall be required, to all manner of Fatigues and Dangers. Now then, O Senators, whoſe Words and Actions are obſerved as an Example to the whole City, let me conjure every one of you, according to his Circumſtances, to vye with one another in enrolling your Sons in this honourable Liſt, that they may participate of ſo great a Glory. For by this Means not only the Defence of *Padoua* will be rendered ſecure and certain, but all Nations will ſpeak in our Praiſe, and diſtinguiſh us as the very Perſons who, with the Hazard of our Lives, defended the Liberties, and fought for the Preſervation, of the nobleſt and moſt deſerving Country in the World.

THIS Speech of the Doge [illegible] with the utmoſt Attention and Approbation

* The Doge ſent his two Sons *Luigi* and *Bernardo*, with One Hundred Foot to *Padoua*; and the Number of the *Venetian* young Noblemen that went thither was Three Hundred (*Bembo* ſays One Hundred Seventy-ſix) who carried with them Ten Thouſand Men. *Mocenigo.*

tion, and his Advice was put in Execution with all poſſible Speed. The Flower of the young *Venetian* Nobility, attended by as many of their Friends and Acquaintance as were fit to bear Arms, ſet out for *Padua*, being accompanied to the Place of their Embarkation by all the reſt of the Nobles, and an innumerable Multitude of others, who animated them with the higheſt Praiſes, beſtowing on them Bleſſings, and magnifying to the Skies their Zeal and Forwardneſs in defence of their Country. Nor were they received with leſs Joyfulneſs and Applauſe in *Padoua*; both Officers and Soldiers extolling to the Heavens the Praiſes of thoſe noble Youths, who, having never experienced the Fatigues nor Dangers of War, had preferred the Love of their Country to their own Lives. Thus mutually hearkening and encouraging one another, with great Spirits, they joyfully expected the Coming of *Cæſar*. A. D. 1509.

THAT Prince, who hitherto had been employed in collecting together the Troops, which came from ſeveral Quar-

A. D. 1509. ters, was arrived at the Bridge of the *Brenta*, Three Miles from *Padoua*, and having made himſelf Maſter of *Arimini*, and turned the Courſe of the Waters, expected his Artillery which was coming from *Germany*, and was very formidable both for Number and Size. Part of it was arrived at *Vicenza*, where *Filippo Roſſo*, and *Federigo Gonzaga da Bozzolo* were ſent to eſcort it with Two Hundred light Horſe, but were attacked by Five Hundred light Horſe that ſallied out of *Padoua* under the Guidance of the Peaſants, who in all that War were of excellent Service to the *Venetians*, and routed about Five Miles from *Vicenza*. *Filippo Roſſo* was taken Priſoner, but *Federigo* diſmounting, by favour of the Night eſcaped in his Shirt. *Maximilian* extended his Quarters from the Bridge of the *Brenta* Twelve Miles towards the Plain of *Rovigo*, the better to open a Way for his Convoys of Proviſions; and having taken by Storm and plundered the Caſtle of *Eſte*, he laid Siege to *Monſelice*; the Defendants abandoned the Town, and retired into the Caſtle, which, tho' ſeated on

on the Top of a high Rock, was taken in two Days. After this he had *Montagnana* ſurrendered to him upon Articles, and then returned towards *Padoua*, taking up his Quarters at the Bridge of *Baſſanello* in the Neighbourhood of *Padoua*, where he attempted to turn the Courſe of the *Brenta*, which runs from thence to *Padoua*. In this Place having received all the Artillery and Ammunition which he expected, and having aſſembled all his Forces, which had been diſtributed into different Quarters, he approached the Town with all his Army, and having put Four Thouſand Foot into the Suburb of *Santa Croce*, he had a Deſign to make the Attack on that Side. But being informed that the Town in that Place was ſtronger by Situation and by the Thickneſs of its Walls, as well as by additional Fortifications, having alſo received much Damage in his Quarters from the Artillery, he resolved to remove with all his Army before the Gate of *Portello*, which looks towards *Venice*, where the Town, as he had been informed, was weaker, and from whence he could better intercept all Suc-

A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. Succours coming to *Padoua*, either by Land, or by Sea from *Venice*. But his Paſſage being obſtructed by Marſhes, and Waters that had overflowed the Country, he was obliged to fetch a great Compaſs, and came to the Bridge of *Boſolenta*, ſeven Miles from *Padoua*, where lies a Tract of Meadows along the River *Bacchiglione*. Into this Place, becauſe it was ſurrounded with Waters, and in the ſecureſt Part of the *Padouan*, Three Thouſand Peaſants had retired with a vaſt Number of Cattle. Theſe People were ſoon routed by the Vanguard of the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Infantry, and almoſt all of them killed or taken. And the Troops for two Days after employed themſelves in nothing but ravaging all the Country as far as the Sea, which was ſtocked with infinite Herds of Cattle; they alſo took ſeveral Boats on the *Brenta*, laden with Proviſions for *Padoua*. At length on the 15th of *September*, after waſting a Deal of Time, and giving Leiſure to the Enemy to fortify themſelves, and lay in Stores of Proviſions, *Maximilian* opened the Siege before

Siege of *Padoua*.

before *Padoua*, and erected his Batteries againſt the Gate of *Portello*. Not in this Age, nor perhaps in many Ages had *Italy* ever ſeen a Siege that drew the Attention, or raiſed the Expectations of the Public to ſo high a Degree, both on account of the Nobleneſs of that City, and the Importance of the Events that depended on its Loſs or Preſervation. *A. D.* 1509.

PADOUA is well known to be a very antient and noble City, famous for its Univerſity. It is ſurrounded with a triple Wall, and the Rivers *Brenta* and *Bacchiglione* paſs through it. It is of as great a Compaſs as perhaps any of the biggeſt Cities in *Italy*, is ſituated in a very plentiful Country, and in a wholeſome and temperate Air. Tho' it has been above a Hundred Years depreſſed under the *Venetian* Government, who wreſted it out of the Hands of the Family of *Carrara*, it has ſtill grand and ſuperb Edifices, and retains many remarkable Signs of Antiquity, by which you may judge of its former Greatneſs and Splendor. Deſcription of the City.

ON

A. D. 1509.

ON the Conqueſt or Defence of ſo great a City depended not only the Eſtabliſhment or Decay of the *German* Empire in *Italy*, but alſo the Fate of the City of *Venice* itſelf. For if *Padua* could be preſerved, that Republic, vaſtly abounding in Riches, and by a firm Union of its Parts always in a Readineſs to exert its whole Strength, nor ſubject, like the States of Princes to Variations, might reaſonably hope, in no long Space of Time, to recover a good Part of its Dominions; and on ſo much the better Grounds, as that the greater Part of their Subjects who had been deſirous of a Change, not having found the Effects anſwerable to their Imaginations, and ſatisfied now by Experience of the Difference between the mild Government of the *Venetians* and that of the *Germans*, which was by no means ſuited to the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Italians*, grew more diſorderly on account of the Confuſions and Damages occaſioned by the War, began to turn their Eyes to their antient Lords, and wiſh to return under their

their former Subjection. But, on the contrary, if *Padoua* ſhould be loſt, the *Venetians* would with it loſe all Hopes of reſtoring their Republic to its antient Splendor; and it was very much to be feared that even the City of *Venice* itſelf, being deprived of ſo great an Empire, and very much impoveriſhed by the Diminution of the public Revenues, and the Loſs of ſo many Eſtates poſſeſſed by private Men on the *Terra firma*, would be diſabled from defending itſelf againſt the Arms of the confederate Princes, or at leaſt would, in proceſs of Time, become a Prey no leſs to the *Turks* (on whom they bordered by a large Extent of Land, and with whom they were always engaged in War, or in an unſafe and precarious Peace) than to the Chriſtian Princes. A. D. 1509.

But the Opinion of the Public concerning the Succeſs of this Enterpriſe was no leſs doubtful, for the vaſt Apparatus of War that preſented itſelf on each Side held the Judgment of the Spectators in great Suſpenſe, who were utterly at a Loſs

A. D. 1509. Loſs in their Conjectures concerning the Succeſs of the Attack or Defence. For *Cæſar* had in his Army, beſides Seven Hundred Lances from the King of *France* under the Command of *la Paliſſe*, Two Hundred Men at Arms ſent to his Aſſiſtance by the Pope, Two Hundred more ſent him by the Duke of *Ferrara*, which were under the Cardinal of *Este*, tho' the Differences were not yet compounded between the two Brothers. He had alſo under different Officers Six Hundred *Italian* Men at Arms in his own Pay. Nor was his Infantry leſs conſiderable than his Cavalry; for he had Eighteen Thouſand *Germans*, Six Thouſand *Spaniards*, Six Thouſand Volunteers of different Nations, and the Regiment of *Eſſe*, conſiſting of Two Thouſand *Italians*, conducted and paid by the Cardinal of that Name *. This Army was attended with an aſtoniſhing Train of Artillery, and a prodigious Quantity of Ammunition, Part of which was furniſhed by the King of *France*. And

Number and Strength of *Maximilian*'s Army.

* *Bembo* tells us that the Army which *Cæſar* had before *Padoua* was ſuppoſed to conſiſt of above Eighty Thouſand; and *Mocenigo* makes them to amount to One Hundred Thouſand.

And tho' *Maximilian*'s own Soldiers, for the greateſt Part of the Time, had received no Pay, yet the Grandeur and Authority of ſo great a General, with the Hopes of the Plunder and Saccage of *Padoua*, and afterwards making Havock of all that the *Venetians* had ſtill in Poſſeſſion, were Encouragements for perſevering in his Service. And indeed his Army rather increaſed every Day, and Men were continually liſting under his Standard; for every one knew and was perſuaded that he was a Prince very liberal by Nature, and full of Humanity towards his Soldiers; and that if he failed in his Payments, it was not owing to Avarice or Unwillingneſs, but purely to Inability. *A. D.* 1509.

SUCH was the Number and Strength of *Cæſar*'s Army, compoſed of his own Forces and thoſe of the Allies, who alſo contributed towards the Maintenance of his Troops. * But the Army which the *Venetians* had placed in *Padoua* was no leſs

* The *Venetian* Garriſon in *Padoua* conſiſted of Fourteen Thouſand Foot, Six Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred Stradiotti, and Fifteen Hundred Archers with Croſs Bows on Horſeback. *Bembo.*

A. D. 1509. leſs powerful, ſo far as was neceſſary for the Defence of that City. For there were within the Place Six Hundred Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred light Horſe, and One Thouſand Stradiotti under famous and experienced Officers. Count *Pitigliano* was Commander in chief, and had under him *Bernardino dal Monte*, *Antonio de' Pii*, *Lucio Malvezzo*, *Giovanni Greco*, and many other ſubordinate Officers. Theſe were the Cavalry; the Infantry conſiſted of Twelve Thouſand Foot of the beſt diſciplined Soldiers in *Italy*, and were commanded by *Dionigi di Naldo*, *Zitolo da Perugia*, *Lattantio da Bergamo*, *Saccoccio da Spoleto*, and many other Leaders. There were alſo Ten Thouſand Foot between *Sclavonians*, *Greeks* and *Albanians*, taken out of the Galleys, of which tho' many were of no great Uſe, being unexpert in military Affairs, yet ſome of them proved of great Service. To all theſe muſt be added the *Venetian* Youth, with their Attendants, who, tho' hitherto rather conſpicuous for their Nobility, and Love to their Country, yet their bravely expoſing themſelves

ſelves to Dangers; and animating the others by their own Example to do their Duty, did not a little contribute to the Defence of the Place. Beſides the numerous Garriſon, the City was abundantly furniſhed with all Sorts of neceſſary Proviſions and Stores, a very numerous Artillery, and vaſt Quantities of Victuals of every Kind, the Peaſants being as careful to bring their Proviſions into the Place for their own Security and Subſiſtence, as the *Venetian* Commiſſaries were in providing and giving Orders for continual Supplies. The Multitude of hired Labourers and Pioneers, who worked without ceaſing, was almoſt innumerable; ſo that the City, which was very ſtrong in the Number and Reſolution of the Defendants, was rendered incomparably ſtronger by the new Works and Fortifications made to the outward Circuit of the Walls which ſurrounded the whole City. For they had raiſed the Waters that run about the Walls of *Padoua* to a great Height throughout the Ditch, and at every Gate of the Town, and in other convenient Places had erected a Number of Baſtions

*D. A.* 1509.

Fortifications of *Padua*.

A. D. 1509 without the Wall, but joining to it, and communicating with the Town; theſe Baſtions were well furniſhed with Artillery for playing on the Enemy if they ſhould enter the Ditch. And that the Loſs of the Baſtions might not endanger the Town, they were all undermined throughout, and many Barrels of Gunpowder placed under them, for blowing them up when they could no longer be maintained. And becauſe they would not entirely depend on the Strength and Thickneſs of the old Walls, tho' they had before carefully ſurveyed them, and where it was needful repaired them, and cut off all the Battlements, they erected on the Inſide, quite round the City, a Paliſade of Stakes, cut Trees, and other Pieces of Wood, diſtant from the Wall as much as its Thickneſs, and filled up the Space between them to the Height of the Wall, with Earth rammed and conſolidated with the greateſt Diligence. A prodigious Work, of incredible Fatigue, in which an infinite Number of Hands were employed! Yet all this not being ſufficient to ſatisfy thoſe who were appointed to take

take care of the Works, for the Defence of the City, behind the Wall they had thus doubled in Thickneſs, they dug a deep Ditch, ſixteen Braces wide, which narrowed at the Bottom, and had ſuch a Number of Caſemates within it, and ſmall Redoubts furniſhed with Artillery, that it ſeemed impoſſible to be maſtered; and thoſe Works were all undermined like the Baſtions, and might eaſily be blown up and ruined. And that they might be the better prepared for all Accidents, behind the Ditch they raiſed a Rampart of the ſame or a greater Breadth, and carried it quite round the Town, except at a few Places on which they knew it was impoſſible to plant any Cannon. Before this Rampart they erected a Parapet of ſeven Braces, which covered thoſe who were appointed for the Defence of the Rampart from the Fire of the Enemy's Artillery. And that the Courage and Reſolution of the Soldiers, and Inhabitants of the Place might be ſuitable to the Greatneſs of the Proviſions and Fortifications, Count *Pitigliano* called a general Aſſembly of them into the Square of *Sant*

A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. *Sant Antonio*, where he exhorted them, in a grave and manly Speech, to take due Care of their Safety, and of their Honour; and bound himſelf, with the reſt of the General Officers, and the whole Army, and the *Padouans* with a ſolemn Oath faithfully to perſevere in the Defence of the City till Death.

SUCH were the mighty Preparations on both Sides when *Cæſar* ſat down with his Army before the Walls of *Padoua*, his Camp extending from the Gate of *Portello* to that of *Ogniſanti*, which leads to *Trevigi*, and afterwards enlarging itſelf to the Gate of *Codalunga*, by which you go to *Cittadella*, contained in Length Three Miles. He himſelf took up his Quarters in the Monaſtery of *Sant Helèna*, a Quarter of a Mile diſtant from the Walls of the City, almoſt in the Middle of the *German* Infantry; and having aſſigned to every one his Poſt, according to their ſeveral Quarters and Nations, he began to plant his Cannon, which were very numerous, and ſome of them of an extravagant and almoſt ſtupendous Size.

But

But becauſe the whole Camp, and particularly the Places where he endeavoured to erect his Batteries, were much annoyed by the Cannon of the Beſieged, he could not effect his Deſign without much Time and Difficulty. At length however *Cæſar* himſelf with invincible Reſolution of Mind, and a Body capable of enduring all Fatigues, hurrying here and there both Night and Day, attending in Perſon to the Management of every important Affair, and continually ſtimulating the Workmen with the greateſt Sollicitude to compleat the Batteries, the Cannon were almoſt all mounted on the fifth Day. On the ſame Day the *French*, and the *German* Foot, on that Quarter where M. *la Paliſſe* commanded, made an Attack on a Ravelin of the Gate, tho' more for an Experiment, than to carry on a regular Aſſault; but finding that the Beſieged made a reſolute Defence, they ſoon retired to their Quarters. The next Day the Artillery played briſkly from all the Batteries, and by their enormous Size and the vaſt Quantity of Powder with which they were charged, the Rampart A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. was penetrated, the Houſes next to the Walls beat down, and very wide Breaches were made in many Parts of the Wall, and a Baſtion erected at the Gate of *Ognifanti* was almoſt levelled to the Ground. The Beſieged however betrayed not the leaſt Sign of Fear, but annoyed the whole Army with their Cannon. And the Stradiotti, who undauntedly lodged in the Suburbs, and refuſed to retire to their Quarters in the City, and the light Horſe made continual Excurſions over the Country, and, ſometimes beating up the Enemies Quarters before or behind, ſometimes attacking their Convoys of Forage and Proviſions, and ſcouring and ravaging all the Country, cut of all Communication with the Army by all the Roads, except by that which goes from *Padoua* to *Monte d' Abano*. And yet in the Enemy's Camp there was Plenty of Proviſions, of which they had found the Houſes and Fields were full, for neither the Fears of the Peaſants, nor the Care and Sollicitude of the *Venetians*, nor the infinite Damages ſuſtained from the Soldiers on every Side, were capable of exhauſting

the

the vaſt Abundance of that moſt delightful and fertile Country. During the Siege *Lucio Malvézzo* marched out of *Padoua* with a good Body of Horſe, to convoy into the Place Forty Thouſand Ducats ſent from *Venice*; and tho' his Rear was attacked by the Enemy, he ſecured the Money, and brought it ſafe into the Town, tho' with the Loſs of ſome of his Men at Arms. *A. D.* 1509.

ON the Ninth Day of the Siege the Artillery had done ſuch Execution, and the Breaches were ſo wide, that it was thought unneceſſary to continue firing from the Batteries, and the next Day the Troops were drawn up in order of Battle, with a Deſign to give a general Aſſault with the whole Army. But on receiving Information that the Beſieged had the ſame Night again raiſed the Waters in the Ditch which before were fallen, *Cæſar* not willing to expoſe his Soldiers to moſt manifeſt Danger, they returned every Man to his Quarters. The next Day the Waters being again fallen, an unſucceſsful Aſſault was given to the Baſtion

A. D. 1509. erected at the Point of the Gate of *Codalunga*. But *Cæſar* reſolving to uſe his utmoſt Efforts to make himſelf Maſter of that Poſt, directed all the Artillery from the *French* Quarters, which were between the Gates of *Ogniſanti* and *Codalunga*, to play upon it; which having ruined Part of it, he ordered it to be attacked by the *German* and *Spaniſh* Infantry, accompanied by ſome Men at Arms on Foot. The Troops behaved very bravely, mounted the Baſtion, and planted two of their Colours upon it. But ſuch was the Strength of the Ditch, and the Valour of the Defendants, among whom *Zitolo da Perugia* ſignalized himſelf, and was much wounded, and ſuch the Plenty of Inſtruments uſed by the Beſieged for the Defence of the Place, as Showers of Stones, and Quantities of Wildfire, beſides their Cannon and ſmall Arms, that the Aſſailants were forced to quit the Baſtion with Precipitation, having many of their Men killed and wounded *. Wherefore the

An Aſſault miſcarried.

* *Zitolo da Perugia*, who was appointed to guard that Poſt, ſuffered the Enemy to mount the Baſtion, and plant their

the Army, which was drawn up in order to ſtorm the Walls as ſoon as the Baſtion ſhould be taken, which they expected, retired and laid aſide their Arms, without attempting any thing. *A. D.* 1509.

THE ill Succeſs of this Attack made *Cæſar* deſpair of accompliſhing his Enterprize, and therefore he reſolved to decamp; and having ſent away his Cannon to a Place of Security, on the Sixteenth Day after he had opened the Trenches before *Padoua* he retired with all his Army to the Town of *Limini* that lies towards *Trevigi*; from whence he went by ſlow Marches to *Vicenza*. Here he received the Oath of Fidelity from the *Vicentines*, and then diſbanding almoſt his whole Army, he proceeded to *Verona*, under great Diſgrace for the ill Succeſs of his Arms. He was highly blamed, not only in the Army but all over *Italy*, for his ill concerted Meaſures, and no leſs for the Manner of executing what had been

Siege of *Padoua* raiſed.

their Colours upon it, and then ſallied upon them, and ſetting Fire to ſome Powder provided for that Purpoſe, made a terrible Slaughter with Fire and Sword. *Mor.*

A. D. 1509. thus imprudently concerted. For it was not doubted but that the Failure of acquiring *Trevigi*, and the Loſs of *Padoua* were both owing to himſelf; and alſo that his Delays in appearing before *Padoua* had greatly hindered the Taking of that Place. For by that Means the *Venetians* had Time to provide that City with a ſtrong Garriſon, and vaſt Plenty of Proviſions, and to make thoſe ſurpriſing Repairs and Fortifications. He did not deny but that the Lateneſs of his Coming was the Cauſe of that Miſcarriage, but he endeavoured to remove the Fault from his own irreſolute and diſorderly Management, and throw the Blame upon others: Complaining of the Pope and of the King of *France*, that the firſt by granting Permiſſion to the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors to come to *Rome*, and the other by delaying to ſend him the Aſſiſtance of his Troops, had given Occaſion to believe that they were fallen off from him. Hence the Highlanders of the Mountains of *Vicenza* were encouraged to rebel againſt him, and he had ſpent many Days in ſubduing them; from the ſame Cauſe

Cauſe he had afterwards met with the like Difficulties in the Plains, that in order to extend himſelf, and to ſecure his Convoys of Proviſions, and to free himſelf from many Difficulties and Moleſtations, he had been firſt obliged to take all the Towns in the Country. The late Coming of the *French* had not only injured him in this Reſpect, but if they had arrived in Seaſon the Rebellion of *Padoua* would not have happened. Encouraged by theſe Proceedings, and becauſe the King of *France* and the King of *Aragon* had alſo laid up their Fleets, the *Venetians* laid aſide all Fear, and were at liberty to fortify and ſupply *Padoua* as they thought fit. Beſides all this, he complained alſo of the King of *Aragon*, who was pleaſed to ſee him in Difficulties, that he might be the ſooner induced to give his Conſent that the Government of the Kingdom of *Caſtile* ſhould remain in his Hands. But his Complaints did him no Service, nor tended in the leaſt to recover his loſt Authority, the World being ſenſible that it was through his own Conduct he had not made a proper Uſe of ſuch fair

A. D. 1509.

*A. D.* 1509. fair Opportunities. But tho' this was a general Cenſure which the Public paſſed upon him, his Miſcarriage was very grateful however to the King of *France*, nor was the Pope diſpleaſed at it; for he was naturally jealous and diſtruſtful of every body, and conſidering with himſelf that *Maximilian* had always wanted Money, and was very importunate in demanding it, he could not ſee with Pleaſure the Increaſe of his Power and Influence in *Italy*.

Agreement between *Cæſar* and the *Florentines*.

AT *Verona Cæſar* received the Oath of Fidelity from the Inhabitants, and gave Audience to the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, among whom was *Piero Guicciardini*, my Father. They entered into an Agreement with him in the Name of their Republic, which was induced, among other Reaſons, by the Perſuaſions of the King of *France*, to pay him in a ſhort Time Forty Thouſand Ducats, in conſideration of which Obligation they obtained of him, in moſt ample Form and Manner, the Privileges of a Confirmation of the Liberties as well of the City

of

of *Florence*, as of the Dominion and Juriſdiction of the Towns and States in their Poſſeſſion, with a Releaſe from all Debts due in Times paſt *. A. D. 1509.

CÆSAR having now taken a Reſolution to return into *Germany*, in order, as he declared, to make Preparations for carrying on the War next Spring, ſent for *Chaumont*, to confer with him about the preſent State of Affairs. He received that General at the Village of *Arſe* in the *Veroneſe*, and ſhewed him the Danger of the Recovery of *Cittadella* and *Baſſano* by the *Venetians*, who being mightily fluſhed with their Succeſs in the Defence of *Padoua*, were preparing to attack thoſe important Places, the Reduction of which would probably be ſoon followed by that of *Monſelice*, *Montagnana*, and *Eſte*. That beſides the Preſervation of theſe Towns it was

* *Piero Guicciardini*, our Author's Father, was Ambaſſador for *Florence* to *Maximilian* when he lay before *Padoua*, and was afterwards ſent with the ſame Character to Pope *Leo* X, to whom he made a very fine Oration in the Name of his Republic. That Government had alſo beſtowed on him many honourable and important Poſts, as they uſually did on thoſe of that illuſtrious Family. *Porcacchi.*

A. D. 1509. was no leſs requiſite to think of recovering *Lignago*; and that, as he was unable, of himſelf alone, to make the neceſſary Proviſions for theſe Purpoſes, he required the Aſſiſtance of the King, whoſe own Affairs would be endangered by neglecting to ſupport him. As to theſe Demands of *Cæſar*, *Chaumont* could give no poſitive Anſwer, but promiſed to lay them before the King his Maſter, giving him Hopes that the Anſwer would be conformable to his Deſire.

AFTER this Conference *Maximilian* ſet out for *Chiuſa*, leaving the Marquis of *Brandenburg* Governor of *Verona*. Soon after *Paliſſe*, who with Five Hundred Lances had remained in the *Veroneſe*, repreſenting to *Cæſar* the Difficulty of his Quarters, and many other Inconveniences, obtained of him by his Importunities a Diſmiſſion, and retired within the Borders of the Dutchy of *Milan*. For it was the King's Intention that while his Troops remained unactive in Garriſons, they ſhould be ſtationed in his own Dominions; but when the Service of *Maximilian* required

quired their Aſſiſtance, they ſhould be ready to go upon any Enterpriſe on which he would pleaſe to employ them, particularly that of *Lignago*, which was deſired, and mightily ſollicited by him. But that Undertaking was ſo long deferred by *Cæſar*'s uſual Incumbrances and Difficulties, that the great Rains coming on with the Seaſon, rendered it impracticable for an Army to keep the Field in that Country, which by its low Situation is much overflown with Water. *Maximilian* therefore being reduced to theſe Straits deſired a Truce of the *Venetians* for ſome Months. But they taking Courage from his Diſtreſſes, and ſeeing him but coldly aſſiſted by his Confederates, judged that a Suſpenſion of Arms would not be for their Advantage. *A. D.* 1509.

CÆSAR at laſt returned to *Trent*, leaving his Affairs in great Hazard, and the State of *Italy* in no ſmall Suſpenſe. For a new Quarrel had ariſen between the Pope and the King of *France*, which, tho' it ſeemed to have but a ſlight Foundation, was ſuſpected to proceed from ſome ſecret

Difference between the Pope and the *French* King.

A. D. 1509 cret Cauſe of more Importance. The Occaſion, as far as it then appeared, was, that a Biſhopric in *Provence* becoming vacant by the Death of the Biſhop who was at the Court of *Rome*, the Pope had diſpoſed of it contrary to the Will of the King of *France*, who pretended that his Holineſs had in this Proceeding acted contrary to the Capitulations made between them by means of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, in which tho' it was not expreſly mentioned that the ſame Cuſtom ſhould be obſerved with reſpect to thoſe Biſhoprics that ſhould become vacant in the Court of *Rome*, as to thoſe that became vacant in other Places, yet the Cardinal had promiſed him as much in Words. This, the Cardinal ſaid, was not true; perhaps rather out of Fear than for any other Reaſon. But the King affirming that it was ſo, the Pope ſaid that he did not know what had been ſecretly treated of, but that having in his Ratification referred to what appeared in the Inſtrument, which expreſly ſpecified the Capitulation, Article after Article, in none of which the particular Caſe of Biſhops

Biſhops dying in the Court of *Rome* was comprehended, he was not obliged any further. This Anſwer ſo provoked the King, that, diſregarding the Advice of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who had always recommended a good Underſtanding with the Pope, he put under Sequeſtration the Profits of all the Benefices in the State of *Milan*, which were enjoyed by the Clergy that reſided in the Court of *Rome*. The Pope, on the other hand, refuſed to make the Biſhop of *Albi* a Cardinal, who was gone to *Rome* in expectation of that Dignity, according to the Promiſe made to the King. And tho' the Pope, ſuffering himſelf to be overcome by a Multitude of Intreaties, diſpoſed at laſt of the Biſhopric in *Provence* according to the King's Deſire, and entered into a new Agreement with him as to the Manner of Proceeding in the Caſe of Benefices that ſhould for the future become vacant in the Court of *Rome*, in conſequence of which on one Side the Sequeſtration ſhould be taken off, and on the other Part the Cardinal's Hat ſhould be beſtowed on the Biſhop of *Albi*, yet this did not quiet the Mind of the Pope, A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1500

which was exaſperated on many Accounts: He was in particular much chagrined that having, in the Beginning of his Pontificate, granted to the Cardinal of *Rouen* the Legateſhip of the Kingdom of *France*, tho' much againſt his Inclination, as being detrimental to the Court of *Rome*, and prejudicial to his own Authority, he ſhould be conſtrained, to his great Mortification, to continue the ſame, out of fear of diſpleaſing the King of *France*. And therefore perſuading himſelf that this Cardinal bent all his Thoughts, and employed all his Art and Means for obtaining the Pontificate, he was jealous of the Progreſs, and alarmed at every Movement of the *French*.

THESE were the apparent Cauſes of the Pope's Reſentment, but his future Conduct made it manifeſt that he had higher Ends in View. For either from a Thirſt after Glory, or a ſecret Hatred againſt the King of *France*, or a Deſire of reſtoring the *Genoeſe* to their Liberty, he moſt ardently longed to ſee the *French* diſpoſſeſſed of all that they held in *Italy*, and was for ever com-

complaining in a diſreſpectful Manner of the King and the Cardinal, but in ſuch a Manner as the World might think that his Diſſatisfaction proceeded principally from Fear. Yet as he was by Nature of a reſolute and invincible Spirit, the Diſpoſition of his Mind frequently diſplayed itſelf in his outward Behaviour; for he had propoſed to himſelf ſuch Projects as were not only of vaſt Importance, but very difficult to be compaſſed; and at the ſame Time he had ſuch an Opinion of his own Talents, and of the Reverence and Authority which he knew that the Apoſtolic See had obtained with Princes, that he ſcorned to act in Dependence or Conjunction. Thus declaring in Words as well as Deeds the ſlight Opinion he had conceived of every one, he neither communicated his Deſigns to *Maximilian*, nor entered into any private Correſpondence with the Catholic King, but was reſerved to all, ſhewing no Propenſity to any but the *Venetians*, confirming himſelf more and more every Day in his Reſolution to abſolve them, becauſe he thought it highly conducive to the Safety of *Italy*, as

*A. D.* 1509.

Pope inclined to abſolve the *Venetians*.

*A. D.* 1509. as well as to his own Security and Grandeur, not to ſuffer them to periſh. Their Abſolution was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Ambaſſadors of *Cæſar* and of the King of *France*, the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Aragon* concurring with them in Public, tho' the King their Maſter, being under Apprehenſions for his Kingdom of *Naples*, which he thought in danger from the Greatneſs of the King of *France*, and putting no Confidence in *Cæſar* on account of his Inſtability, privately ſollicited the Pope to abſolve them.

Remonſtrance againſt it.

THE Ambaſſadors repreſented that it was very improper for his Holineſs to grant ſo ſignal a Favour to thoſe whom he was bound to proſecute with his Arms, ſince by the League of *Cambray* each of the Confederates was bound to aſſiſt the others, till every one had acquired what was agreed on according to the Articles, *Cæſar*, then, not having got poſſeſſion of *Trevigi*, none of them was yet free from that Obligation. Beſides his Holineſs might with Juſtice deny Abſolution to the *Venetians*, becauſe they had neither volun-

voluntarily, nor within the Time appointed by the Monitory, made reſtitution to the Church of the Towns in *Romagna*, and had not even to this Day yielded intire Obedience, becauſe they were admoniſhed to reſtore beſides the Towns, the Profits they had received, with which they had not complied. *A. D.* 1509.

The Pope's Anſwer.

To this the Pope anſwered, that ſince the Offenders were brought to Repentance, and in the moſt humble Manner to demand Abſolution, it was not the Duty of the Vicar of Chriſt to continue perſecuting them with ſpiritual Arms, in prejudice to the Salvation of ſo many Souls: That the Towns were reſtored, and conſequently the Cauſe for which the Cenſures were inflicted was ceaſed: That as to the Reſtitution of the Profits received, it was but an acceſſary Thing, and inſerted more for an Aggravation of their Diſobedience, than for any other Reaſon, and therefore to be diſregarded when the principal Demand was granted: That there was indeed a different Cauſe for proſecuting them with his temporal Arms, and there-

A. D. 1509. fore he had determined to adhere to the League of *Cambray*, and offered himſelf ready to concur with the others, tho' as to the Point of *Trevigi* every one of the Confederates might juſtly diſengage himſelf, becauſe the King of the *Romans* had failed of acquiring that City purely by his own Fault, in refuſing the firſt Offers, made him by the *Venetians* by their Ambaſſador *Antonio Giuſtiniano*, to leave him all that they poſſeſſed on the *Terra firma*, and declining to accept the Propoſals which have ſince been frequently made him of a proper Compenſation in Exchange for that Town.

THUS, tho' the Remonſtrances of the Ambaſſadors had no Effect in reſtraining the Pope from granting his Abſolution to the *Venetians*, he was however retarded from giving it purely by his Greatneſs of Spirit: For tho' he eſteemed it beneficial to himſelf, and conducive to the End he had propoſed, yet he was determined not to grant it but in a Manner becoming the high Dignity of the Apoſtolic See, and ſo as that the Rights of the Church might be

be entirely freed for the future from their Oppreſſions. The *Venetians* therefore refuſing to give their Conſent to two Conditions which, among many others, he had propoſed to them, he deferred their Abſolution. One of theſe Conditions was, that they ſhould leave the Navigation of the *Adriatic* Sea free to the Subjects of the Church, which they had forbidden to all thoſe who did not pay them certain Duties for the Goods they carried. The other was, that they ſhould no longer keep in *Ferrara*, a City dependent on the Church, a Magiſtrate under the Title of *Biſdomino* *. *A. D.* 1509.

THE *Venetians* alledged in their Behalf that this Magiſtrate was introduced with the Conſent of the *Ferrareſe*, and without Anſwer of the *Venetians*.



* This Magiſtrate, called the *Biſdomino* or *Viſdomino*, was introduced by the *Venetians* into *Ferrara* by the Peace they made with *Alberto Eſte*, who had made War with them in defence of the young *Franceſco Carrara*. *Giuſtin.* The *Venetians* aſſiſting *Freſco* againſt *Franceſco d' Eſte*, the *Ferrareſe*, and Cardinal *Pulaguro*, and getting the upper Hand, made a Peace upon Condition that they ſhould conſtitute in *Ferrara* a Podeſtate, who was afterwards called the *Viſdomino*; the firſt appointed was in the Year 1308. *Sabellicus.*

A. D. 1509. Oppoſition from *Clement* VI, the *Roman* Pontiff, who at that Time reſided with his Court in the City of *Avignon*: That the Dominion and Cuſtody of the Gulph were granted to them, with very ample Privileges, by Pope *Alexander* IV, to which he was induced by conſidering that they had by their Arms and their Valour, and at a vaſt Expence, guarded that Sea againſt the *Saracens* and Pirates, and rendered the Navigation of it ſafe to the Chriſtians.

Pope's Reply. To this it was replied, on the Part of the Pope, that the *Ferrareſe* had it not in their Power to conſent that a Magiſtrate ſhould be kept, or Juriſdiction exerciſed in *Ferrara* by other Potentates in prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtic Sovereignty: That the People of *Ferrara* had not given their Conſent voluntarily, but compelled by a long and burdenſome War; and, after ſolliciting in vain the Aſſiſtance of the Pope, whoſe Conſent the *Venetians* deſpiſed, had accepted of Peace on ſuch Conditions as thoſe who prevailed againſt them more by Arms than by Arguments were

were pleaſed to preſcribe. As to the Grant of *Alexander*, there did not appear, either in Hiſtory or in any written Record, the leaſt Trace of it; that its Credibility reſted intirely on the Teſtimony of the *Venetians* themſelves, which in their own Cauſe, and in ſo weighty a Matter, was juſtly to be ſuſpected. And even if any Deed of ſuch a Conceſſion of *Alexander* ſhould be extant, it was more probable that it was extorted from him (who, as they ſay, granted it in *Venice*) by Fear or Menaces, than that a *Roman* Pontiff, who was, above all others, concerned to patroniſe Juſtice, and to relieve the Oppreſſed, would paſs a Grant of ſo imperious and domineering a Power, and ſo injurious to Mankind. A. D. 1509.

In this State of Affairs, while the Princes were of different Minds, and the King of the *Romans* much decayed in Power and Reputation, the *Venetians* ordered their Army, under the Proveditor *Gritti*, to march to *Vicenza*, where they knew that the People had an Inclination to return under their Dominion. They ap-

*A. D.* 1509. approached the City in the Night, and, under the Fire of their Cannon, made themſelves Maſters of the Suburb of *Poſterla*, with little Hopes of taking the Town, tho' there was but a ſmall Garriſon, when the Inhabitants, at the Inſtigation, as it was ſaid, of *Fracaſſa*, ſent out at Midnight ſome truſty Meſſengers, who introduced them into the City, the Prince of *Anhalt* and *Fracaſſa* retiring into the Caſtle. And it was the general Opinion, that if the *Venetian* Army had, upon taking poſſeſſion of *Vicenza*, marched directly to *Verona*, they might have had the ſame Succeſs in retaking that City. But the Generals did not think fit to leave *Vicenza* before they had made themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle, which fell into their Hands four Days after; for the Prince of *Anhalt* and *Fracaſſa* abandoned the Place, finding it too weak to be defended. At the ſame time ſome freſh Recruits from *Cæſar*, and Three Hundred Lances under *Aubigni*, ſent by the King of *France*, entered *Verona*; ſo that the Garriſon now conſiſting of Five Hundred Lances, and Five Thouſand *Spaniſh* and *German*

*Vicenza* retaken by the *Venetians.*

*German* Infantry, the Place could not eaſily be taken. The *Venetian* Army however approached that City, marching in two Diviſions, in each of which were Three Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Foot, in Hopes of ſome Commotion in the City on their firſt Appearance. But they not preſenting themſelves before the Walls at once with their whole Force, the Garriſon made a Sally on the firſt Diviſion which approached on the Side beyond the River *Adice*, and tho' they had entered the Suburb, obliged them to retire. But ſoon after *Lucio Malvezzo* coming to their Aſſiſtance with the ſecond Diviſion from the other Side of the River, they drove back the Enemy into the Town; the whole Army being now joined, they removed, and encamped at the Village of *Martino*, five Miles from *Verona*. While they lay here they received Advice that Two Thouſand *German* Foot had marched out of *Baſciano* in order to ravage the Country about *Cittadella*; on which they put themſelves in Motion, and incloſed the Enemy in the Valley of *Fidata*. A. D. 1509.

But

A. D. 1509. But the *Germans* receiving ſome Aſſiſtance from *Baſciano*, forced their Way through the narrow Paſſes, tho' not without Loſs. The *Venetians* afterwards took poſſeſſion of *Baſciano*, which the *Germans* had abandoned; and from *Baſciano* part of their Army proceeded to *Feltro* and *Cividale*, and, after recovering theſe Towns, purſued their March to *Rocca della Scala*, which they took ſoon after they had raiſed a Battery againſt it.

AT the ſame time *Antonio* and *Girolamo da Savorniano*, two Noblemen of *Friuli* who were of the *Venetian* Party, took *Caſtel nuovo*, a Fortreſs ſituated on the Top of a rugged Mountain in the Middle of *Patria*, which is the Name given to that Part of *Friuli* that lies beyond the River *Tigliavento*. *Cæſar* was come to *Pietra*, all in a Hurry, and much diſturbed at the Loſs of *Vicenza*; but nothing further was heard of him, but flying Reports, and that he was in continual Motion from Place to Place, on ſome Exploit or other, but to little Effect.

THE

A. D. 1509.

THE *Venetian* Army, after taking *Rocca della Scala*, moved towards *Monſelice* and *Montagnana*, in order to recover the Poleſine of *Rovigo*, and to invade the *Ferrareſe* at the ſame Time that their naval Armament entered it by the River *Po*. The Senate reſolved on this Expedition contrary to the Advice of the more prudent Senators, who judged it too raſh a Meaſure to involve themſelves in new Enterpriſes *. But what animated them to this Undertaking was not ſo much the preſent Benefit that might be expected from it, as their bitter Reſentment of the Proceedings of the Duke of *Ferrara*. For tho' they could not juſtly complain of what he had done to free himſelf from the Yoke of the Biſdomino, and to recover the Poleſine, yet they thought it intolerable that, not contented with what rightfully belonged to him, he had received

* One of the Senators who oppoſed this Enterpriſe was *Angelo Treviſano* who commanded the Fleet; He repreſented to the Senate the great Riſque that the Veſſels muſt run in paſſing up the *Po*, both on account of the many Fortifications which the Duke had erected on the Banks, and becauſe of the Shallowneſs of the Water. *Bembo*.

*A. D.* 1509. ceived in Fee of *Cæſar*, when he raiſed the Siege of *Padoua*, the Caſtle of *Eſte*, from whence the Family of *Eſte* takes its Name and Origin; and had accepted in Pledge, as Security for Moneys lent, the Caſtle of *Montagnana*, to which two Places he pretended no Right. They well remembered alſo that the Troops of the Duke, in their Recovery of the Poleſine, incited by their extreme Malice to the *Venetian* Name, had done exceſſive Damages to the Effects of the Nobles, extending their Rage and Savageneſs to the very Houſes, which they laid in Aſhes or Ruins. It was therefore reſolved that the Fleet, conſiſting of Seventeen light Galleys, with an extraordinary Number of ſmaller Barks, well manned with able Men, under the Conduct of *Angelo Treviſano*, ſhould ſet ſail towards *Ferrara*. They entered the *Po* by the Mouth of the *Fornaci*, and after burning *Corbola* and other Villages near the *Po*, ravaged and laid waſte all the Country as far as the *Lago Scuro*, from which Place the light Horſe that attended them by Land ſcoured the Country home to *Fiche-*

*Venetians provoked at the Duke of Ferrara.*

*Expedition againſt the Ferrareſe.*

*ruolo*,

*ruolo*, which may be deemed a Palace rather than a Fortreſs, and is famous for the long Siege it ſuſtained from *Roberto da San Severino*, the *Venetian* General, in the War againſt *Hercole*, Father of *Alfonſo*. A. D. 1509.

THE Coming of this Fleet, and the Report that the Army was to approach by Land, ſtartled the Duke of *Ferrara*, who had very few regular Troops, and the People of *Ferrara* were not ſufficient, either in Number or the Uſe of Arms, to reſiſt ſo great a Danger. The Succours which he expected from the Pope and the King of *France* were not yet arrived, till which Time he had no other Defence to make than to plant as many Pieces of Cannon as he could furniſh upon the Banks of the *Po*, and by their continual Firing prevent the Enemy from paſſing forwards. *Treviſano* then, having in vain attempted to paſs, and finding he could make no further Progreſs without Aſſiſtance by Land, ſtationed his Fleet in the Middle of the *Po*, behind a little Iſland that lies over againſt the *Puliſella*, a Place Eleven Miles diſtant from *Ferrara*, and con-

A. D. 1509. convenient for infeſting and diſtreſſing that City. Here he lay in Expectation of the Army, which had made themſelves Maſters of the whole Polæſine without any Difficulty, after they had firſt taken *Montagnana*, which ſurrendered upon Articles, by which the *Ferrareſe* Magiſtrates and the Officers of the Garriſon were to remain Priſoners. In the mean time *Treviſano*, the better to ſecure his Fleet in their Station till the Arrival of the Land Forces, ſet about erecting, with all poſſible Speed, two Redoubts on the Banks of the *Po*, one on the Side towards *Ferrara*, and the other on the oppoſite Bank, laying alſo over the Veſſels a Bridge of Communication between the Fleet and the Redoubt erecting towards *Ferrara*. To prevent the Completion of this Redoubt the Duke, with more Courage perhaps than Prudence, aſſembled as many as he could of the Youth of *Ferrara*, and of the Soldiers who continually flocked to liſt under him, and ordered them to make a ſudden Attack upon it. But the Soldiers in the Redoubt, being reinforced from the Fleet, ſallied out to engage,

engage, and began to put them to Flight; and tho' the Duke arriving in Perſon with a good Number of Horſe, revived the Courage, and remedied the Diſorde of his Troops, which were for the moſ part raw and undiſciplined, yet ſo vigorous was the Attack of the Enemy, who were alſo favoured by the Place, and made ſuch Execution with the Fire of a Multitude of ſmall Artillery, that he was forced to retreat, leaving many of his Men killed or taken, and not ſuch a Number of the baſer and ruder Sort, as of his braveſt Soldiers, and of the *Ferrareſe* Nobility; among whom was *Hercole Cantelmo*, a young Nobleman of vaſt Hopes, whoſe Anceſtors had been in poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Sora* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. This unfortunate Youth was led Priſoner by ſome *Sclavonian* Soldiers aboard a Galley, and a Quarrel ariſing among them on diſputing whoſe Priſoner he was, one of them, in a moſt ſavage and unparallelled Manner, ſtruck off his Head. Upon this Defeat the City of *Ferrara* being apprehended to be in Danger, *Chaumont* ſent thither *Chatillon* with One Hundred

*A. D.* 1509.

Duke of *Ferrara* routed.

A. D. 1509. and Fifty *French* Lances; and the Pope, irritated againſt the *Venetians* for attacking the *Ferrareſe* without any Regard to the Superiority which the Church claims over that Territory, ordered Two Hundred Men at Arms, which he had in the Service of *Cæſar*, to haſten to the Defence of *Ferrara*. But theſe Succours would perhaps have come too late, if the *Venetians* had not been conſtrained to turn their Thoughts on providing for their own Defence.

THE King of *France*, as we before obſerved, was not diſpleaſed to ſee *Maximilian* involved in Difficulties, partly from a Dread, which he had always entertained, of that Prince's Proſperity, and partly out of a Deſire to render himſelf Sovereign of the City of *Verona*, of which he was in hopes that *Maximilian*, enforced by his Neceſſities, would, at one Time or other, grant him the Poſſeſſion, either by Purchaſe or Pledge. But, on the other hand, he could by no means endure to ſee the *Venetians* riſing to their antient Grandeur, from which he foreſaw nothing but

but Trouble and continual Danger to his own Affairs. The Preparations therefore which *Cæſar* had made in *Verona* being utterly inſufficient for want of Money, the King was under a Neceſſity to procure ſome other Supplies, beſides the Men at Arms that had entered that City, to prevent it from falling into the Hands of the *Venetians*. This Meaſure was firſt put in Execution by *Chaumont*, who, after the Loſs of *Vicenza*, had advanced to the Frontiers of the *Veroneſe*, where being informed that Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Infantry in *Verona* were beginning to mutiny for want of Pay, he liſted them into the Service of the King his Maſter, and ordered thither another Body of Foot for the Security of the Place. In hiring the *Spaniards* he followed the Counſel of *Trivulzio*, who, when *Chaumont* doubted whether the King would be diſpleaſed at ſuch an additional Expence, anſwered, that it was much better the King ſhould reproach him for ſpending his Money, than with loſing or endangering his State. Beſides this, he lent *Cæſar* Eight Thouſand Ducats to pay the Garriſon of *Verona*, A. D. 1509.

*A. D.* 1509 and for Security of this and ſome other Sums which he was to lay out for his Benefit in Time to come, he got *Valeggio* mortgaged to his Maſter. This Place is one of the Paſſes of the River *Mincio*, ſo that he who is Maſter of this Town and of *Peſchiera* has the Command of that River, and being but ſix Miles diſtant from *Breſcia* is a Security to that City, which made it highly valued by the King.

THE Coming of *Chaumont*, followed by the greater Part of the Lances quartered in the Dutchy of *Milan*, the Reinforcement of the Garriſon of *Verona*, and the ſpreading of a Report that Preparations were making for the Siege of *Vicenza*, had occaſioned the *Venetian* Army, after leaving Four Hundred light Horſe, and as many Foot, for the Defence of the Poleſine, and for the Safeguard of their Fleet, to depart out of the *Ferrareſe*, and to diſtribute themſelves into *Lignago*, *Soave*, and *Vicenza*. And the Senate, being very deſirous of ſecuring *Vicenza* and the circumjacent Country from being in

insulted by the Garrison of *Verona*, they fortified that Territory with a wide Ditch, full of Water, which they covered by a Rampart, on which were erected at proper distances a Multitude of Redoubts; a Work worthy of great Admiration. This Ditch beginning at the Foot of the Mountain that is above *Soave*, extended itself through the Plain that leads from *Lonigo* * to *Monforte*, for the Space of five Miles, and ends at a Marsh contiguous to the River *Adice*. They fortified also *Soave* and *Lonigo*, and by their keeping themselves on their Guard secured the whole Country, at least for the Winter. A. D. 1509.

THE Departure of the *Venetian* Army gave some Relief, but did not wholly free *Ferrara* from Danger. For tho' the City was delivered from the Fear of being taken by Force, there was Cause to apprehend that the People, by their continual Losses and Sufferings, would be reduced to extreme Poverty, or abandon themselves



* The *Italian* Copies have it *Rovigo*, which is an Error of the Press, for *Rovigo* is at a vast Distance from *Soave*.

A. D. 1509. ſelves to utter Deſpair. For the Troops aboard the Fleet, with thoſe that accompanied them, made Excurſions every Day to the very Gates of *Ferrara*; and another Fleet of the *Venetians* had attacked the Duke's Dominion on another Quarter, and taken *Comacchio*. At this Juncture arrived the Troops of the Pope and of the King of *France*, which encouraged the Duke, who ſince the Loſs received at the Attack of the Redoubt had taken care to keep his Troops ſtrongly entrenched under the Cannon of *Ferrara*, from thence to make frequent Excurſions with his Horſe in Sight of the Enemy, with a Deſign to draw them to a Battle; but they, expecting the Return of their Army, avoided an Engagement. It happened one Day that the Cardinal *d' Eſte* having led up a Body of Horſe very near the Redoubt, and being on his Return, a Cannon Ball, from one of the Enemy's Veſſels, took off the Head of Count *Lodovico della Mirandola*, one of the Generals of the Church, no Perſon beſides, in ſo great a Multitude, receiving the leaſt Hurt by this or any other Shot. At laſt,

laſt, the perfect Knowledge of the Country, and the Nature and Conveniency of the River ſuggeſted and facilitated an Expedient, which in the Beginning had appeared difficult and dangerous. For the Duke and the Cardinal entertaining Hopes of ſhattering and deſtroying the Enemy's Fleet with their Artillery, provided they could but convey it with Safety to the Bank of the River, the Cardinal, with Part of the Troops, returned to attack the Redoubt, and having repulſed and killed ſome of the Enemy, who had ſallied forth, he made himſelf Maſter of, and fortified the Bank near the Redoubt, and in the Beginning of the Night he brought down his Cannon without being perceived by the Enemy, and planted it in great Silence along the Bank oppoſite to the Enemy's Fleet. When it began to play it did horrible Execution, and tho' all the Veſſels immediately put themſelves in Motion to get away, yet the Bank being planted for a good Length with a Multitude of heavy Pieces of Artillery, managed by ſkilful Hands, and commanding at a great Diſtance, the Enemy only ſhifted the Place

A. D. 1509.

A. D. 1509. of Danger, but could not avoid it; the Duke himſelf, who was very ſkilful in the Caſting as well as Management of Artillery, came in Perſon, and exerted himſelf in a very extraordinary Manner. The *Venetians* ceaſed not to fire from their Veſſels with great and ſmall Shot, but to no Purpoſe, for thoſe on the Side of the River were covered by the Riſing of the Bank *. But ſuch was the Violence of the Shot from the Duke's heavy Pieces of Cannon, that the whole Fleet was ſhattered, torn and loſt by various and terrible Misfortunes. For ſome of the Commanders finding themſelves unable to ſtand the Fire ſurrendered; ſome Veſſels were ſet on Fire by the Shot, and miſerably burnt with all that were on board, and others ſunk leſt they ſhould fall into the Hands of the Enemy. The Admiral, ſoon after the Beginning of the Action, put himſelf into a Skiff, and ſaved himſelf by Flight. His Galley, after making her Way off for Three Miles, con-

*Venetian* Fleet deſtroyed by the Duke of *Ferrara*.

* *Giovio* ſays that the Cardinal, with great Skill and Contrivance, cauſed Holes to be made in the Bank of the River, which were level with the Water, at which he placed the Mouths of his Cannon.

continually firing, defending herſelf, and providing againſt the Strokes ſhe received, was at laſt ſhot through in ſo many Places that ſhe went to the Bottom. Whilſt nothing was to be ſeen but Blood, Fire, and dead Bodies, Fifteen Gallies fell into the Duke's Hands, beſides ſome large Veſſels, Shallops and Brigantines, and of ſmaller Craft almoſt an infinite Number. The Dead, that were killed by the Shot, or burnt, or drowned, amounted to Two Thouſand; Sixty Colours were taken, but not the principal Flag, which was carried off by the Commander. Many fled by Land, and Part of them were picked up by the *Venetian* light Horſe, and ſaved, others were purſued and taken by the Enemy, and ſome fell into the Hands of the Peaſants, and were very ill treated by them. The Veſſels that were taken were brought up to *Ferrara*, where they remained many Years as a Monument of the Victory, till *Alfonſo*, deſirous to gratify the *Venetian* Senate, ordered them to be reſtored. The Fleet being thus ruined and deſtroyed, the Duke immediately ſent Three Hundred Horſe and Five

D. A. 1509.

A. D. 1509. Five Hundred Foot to do the like Execution upon the Fleet that had taken *Comacchio*. Theſe Troops having recovered *Loreto*, which had been fortified by the *Venetians*, it is probable, would have had the like Succeſs, and deſtroyed thoſe Ships, had not the Admiral, appriſed of the Danger, retired to *Bebbie*.

Such was the End of the Expedition againſt *Ferrara*, which laſted a Month, and in which the Event, oftentimes the beſt Rule for forming our Judgment of Actions, plainly ſhewed how much better it had been to hearken to the Counſel of a Few, who adviſed the Senate to omit all other Enterpriſes, to reſerve their Money for a fairer Opportunity, and to attend only to the Preſervation of *Padoua*, *Trevigi*, and thoſe other Places which they had recovered, than to thoſe who, more in Number, but inferior in Prudence, and incited by Enmity and Reſentment, were ready to involve themſelves in an Undertaking, which begun with Temerity, and ended with a vaſt

Ex-

Expence, and no ſmall Diſgrace and Detriment to the Public. A. D. 1509.

BUT on the Side of *Padoua* the Affairs of the *Venetians* were rather proſperous than otherwiſe. For *Cæſar* preſenting himſelf in the *Vicentine* at the Head of Four Thouſand Foot, a Part of the *Venetian* Army, not very conſiderable, aſſiſted by the Peaſants, took, almoſt in his Sight, the Paſs of *Scala*, and after that *Cocolo*, and *Baſciano*, which is a Place of Importance for preventing the Deſcent of the *Germans* into *Italy*. *Maximilian* complaining that by the Departure of *Paliſſe* many Diſorders had happened, ſet out for *Bolzano* in his Way to *Inſpruck*, to be preſent at the Diet which he had ordered to be held at that Place. His Example was followed by *Chaumont*, who laid aſide his Deſign upon *Vicenza* and *Lignago*, conſidering that thoſe Places were well provided, and the Seaſon of the Year too far advanced, and retired to *Milan*, leaving good Garriſons in *Breſcia*, *Peſchiera* and *Valeggio*. He left alſo in *Verona*, for the Defence of that City, becauſe

*A. D.* 1509. cauſe *Cæſar* himſelf had not the Means to defend it, Six Hundred Lances, and Four Thouſand Foot. Theſe Troops were ſeparated from *Cæſar*'s, and had their Quarters in the Suburb of *San Zeno*, having for their greater Security the Poſſeſſion of the Cittadel.

Deſcription of *Verona.*

VERONA is an antient and noble City, divided into two Parts by the *Adice*, a very large and deep River, which riſes in the Mountains of *Germany*, and as ſoon as it deſcends into the Plains, turns to the Left, and, after waſhing the Foot of the Mountains, enters *Verona*, and as ſoon as it leaves the Town it turns off from the Mountains, and takes its Courſe through a very fine and fertile plain. That Part of the City which is ſeated moſtly on a Declivity, lies towards *Germany*; the reſt, which is wholly ſituated in a Plain, lies towards *Mantoua*. On a Hill, by the Gate of *San Giorgio*, ſtands the Caſtle of *San Piero*; and at two Bow-ſhots higher, on the Top of the Hill, is the Caſtle of *San Felice*. The chief Strength of theſe Caſtles lies in their Situation,

tuation, for if they ſhould be taken, they overlook and command the Place in ſuch a Manner that *Verona* would be in great Danger. They were garriſoned by *Germans*; but in the Part of the City, which is ſeparated from this by the River, ſtands the old Caſtle, that lies in the Way to *Peſchiera*; it is ſeated almoſt in the Center of the City, and has a Bridge over the River. At three Bowſhots Diſtance from this Caſtle, towards *Vicenza*, ſtands the Cittadel, which is joined to the Caſtle by the Walls of the City on the Outſide, making a Semicircle. But on the Inſide they are joined by a Wall erected between two vaſt Foſſes; the Space between the two Walls is called the Suburb of *San Zeno*, which with the Cittadel was appointed for quartering the *French*. A. D. 1509.

WHILE the military Operations ſeemed as it were at a Stand, *Maximilian* was continually treating about making a Truce with the *Venetians*, the Pope intereſting himſelf very heartily in the Affair by his Nuntio *Achille de' Graſſi*, Biſhop

A. D. 1509. Biſhop of *Peſaro*. For this Purpoſe was held at the *Spedaletto* near *Scala* a Conference between the Ambaſſadors of *Maximilian* and the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, *Giovanni Cornaro* and *Luigi Mocenigo*. But *Cæſar* inſiſted on ſuch high Demands, that the Treaty came to nothing; to the great Mortification of the Pontiff, who was deſirous to have the *Venetians* delivered from all their Diſtreſſes. And ſince there was no Ground of Contention between the Pope and them, he had prevailed with them to reſtore to the Duke of *Ferrara* the Town of *Comacchio*, which they had taken and burnt, and to promiſe him that they would no more moleſt the Duke's Dominions. His Holineſs now took the Duke under his particular Protection, in hopes that, in Gratitude for the Benefits which he had received, and might expect to receive, he ſhould oblige him to depend more on himſelf than on the King of *France*, againſt whom he was continually employing his Thoughts in laying a Foundation for the Execution of ſome Project of vaſt Importance. With this View he had privately diſpatched a truſty

truſty Perſon to the King of *England*, and entered into a Treaty with the *Swiſs*, who at that Time begun to have ſome Diſputes with the King of *France*; and therefore when the Biſhop of *Sion*, called by the *Latin* Writers *Epiſcopus Sedunenſis*, who was an Enemy to the King, and on that account expected to be made a Cardinal, waited on his Holineſs, he met with a very chearful Reception. *A. D.* 1509.

AT the End of this Year was an Agreement concluded between the King of the *Romans* and his Catholic Majeſty, who were at Variance about the Government of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*. This Agreement, which had been long negotiating in the Court of *France*, where it met with many Difficulties, was, for want of Prudence in the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who did not conſider that the Friendſhip between theſe two Princes might be very prejudicial to his Maſter's Intereſt, brought to Perfection. He might imagine perhaps that the making himſelf the Author of this Reconciliation might help to pave the Way for his Advancement to the Pontificate,

A. D. 1509. cate, and therefore uſed his utmoſt Pains and Diligence to accompliſh it; by which, together with his Authority, he diſpoſed *Maximilian* to conſent that the Catholic King, whilſt he remained without male Iſſue, ſhould be Governor of *Caſtile* till *Charles*, their common Grandſon, ſhould be Five and Twenty Years of Age; that *Charles* ſhould not aſſume the Title of King while his Mother was living, who had the Title of Queen, becauſe in *Caſtile* the Females are not excluded by the Males. The Catholic King was to pay *Cæſar* Fifty Thouſand Ducats, and to aſſiſt him, according to the Treaty of *Cambray*, till he was in Poſſeſſion of all that belonged to him, and was to allow *Charles* a yearly Penſion of Forty Thouſand Ducats. By this Convention the King of *Aragon* was eſtabliſhed in the Government of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and found means of acquiring the Confidence of *Cæſar*, by the Removal of all Occaſions of Contention, and by their mutual Attachment to the Intereſt of their common Grandſon; which enabled him with the greater Spirit to attend to the Prevention

tion of the Greatneſs of the King of *France*, of which he had been always jealous, on account of his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples*. A. D. 1509.

THE Pope at this Time had entertained alſo a Suſpicion that the Prothonotary of the *Bentivogli*, who was at *Cremona*, was treating about finding means for returning ſecretly into *Bologna*. On this Surmiſe he cauſed *Giuliano de' Medici* to be arreſted by ſome truſty Perſons, and confined in the Palace of *Bologna*. And aſcribing every Diſturbance he received to the ill Will of the King of *France*, he pretended to be under Apprehenſions that he deſigned to paſs into *Italy* with a View to depoſe him, and, by a forced Election, place the Cardinal of *Rouen* in the papal Chair. And yet at the ſame time he could not forbear to ſpeak in a detracting and diſreſpectful Manner of *Cæſar*, and in Terms injurious to his Honour, as if he were a Perſon unqualified for ſo high a Dignity, and by his Incapacity had brought the Name of the Empire into Contempt.

*A. D.* 1509.

AT the End of this Year died Count *Pitigliano*, Captain General of the *Venetians*, in a far advanced Age, and of long Experience in military Affairs. The *Venetians* repoſed an entire Confidence in his Fidelity, and were never afraid that he would endanger their Dominions by a raſh or precipitate Meaſure.

Death of Count *Pitigliano.*

IN this perplexed and uncertain State of Affairs we are now entering on the Year 1510, in the Beginning of which the Operations of War, on account of the Seaſon, proceeded but coldly. The *Venetian* Army, which had their Quarters at *San Bonifacio* in the *Veroneſe*, kept *Verona* in a manner blockaded. One Day *Carlo Baglione*, *Federigo da Bozzolo*, and *Sa-*

Actions in the *Veroneſe.*

* The Count died at *Lonigo*, a Caſtle in the *Vicentine*, of a ſlow Fever, which reduced him to Extremities. But before his Death he ſent for the Proveditors and Generals of the Army, and recommended to them, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, the *Venetian* Republic, in which ſubſiſted, as he aſſured them, the whole Ornament of the *Italian* Military. His Body was carried to *Venice*, and honourably interred in the Church of *San Giovanni and Paolo* in a beautiful Sepulchre, over which the Senate ordered to be erected his Statue on Horſeback. *Bembo* and *Giuſtiniano.*

*Sacromoro Viſconte*, ſallying out of that City to reconnoitre the Enemy, were attacked by the Stradiotti, who routed them, and took *Carlo* and *Sacromoro*, but *Federigo* ſaved himſelf by help of the *French*, who ſallied out of *Verona* to their Aſſiſtance. Not long after the Stradiotti routed another Squadron of *French* Horſe, and took Priſoner, among others, the Sieur *de Cleſi*. On the other Side Two Hundred *French* Lances, with Three Thouſand Foot, came out of *Verona*, and took by Storm a Redoubt near *Soave*, garriſoned by Six Hundred Foot; and in their Return broke and put to Flight a great Multitude of Peaſants. A. D. 1510.

But in the Midſt of this Coldneſs and Remiſſneſs of the military Operations, Affairs of the greateſt Moment employed the Thoughts of the Royal Sovereigns, and eſpecially thoſe of the King of the *Romans*, who, being utterly at a Loſs how to carry on the War againſt the *Venetians* with any Proſpect of Succeſs, and referring his Affairs, as uſual, from Diet to Diet, had now called a Diet at *Auſburg*. Affairs of *Maximilian*.

A. D. 1510. He was diſpleaſed alſo with the Pope, becauſe the Electors of the Empire, induced by the Authority of his Holineſs, inſiſted on treating in the Diet of a Peace with the *Venetians* before they deliberated on making Proviſions for a War. To ſhew his Reſentment therefore he diſmiſſed the Biſhop of *Peſaro*, the Pope's Nuncio, from *Auſburg*. He then conſidered with himſelf that the Reſolutions of Diets were uncertain, tedious, and attended with many Difficulties, and that generally the End of one Diet gave occaſion for the Beginning of another *. The King of *France*, he found, was continually excuſing himſelf from anſwering his Demands, or going on thoſe Enterpriſes which were propoſed to him, ſometimes alledging the Severity of the Seaſon, ſometimes demanding a ſure Aſſignment for Security of his Expences; and then would alſo put him in Mind that the Pope and the King of *Aragon* were, by the Articles of *Cambray*, under the ſame Obligations to aſſiſt

* To conſider further of the moſt material Points propoſed in the former; which was indeed a very tedious and uncertain Method of Proceeding.

assist him as himself; and that, as he was engaged in common Confederacy and Obligations with these Princes, it was fit that they should proceed with one common Consent. *A. D.* 1510.

MAXIMILIAN, after all, could not think of a better Remedy for his disordered Affairs than to persuade the King of *France* to undertake the Conquests of *Padoua*, *Vicenza*, and *Trevigi* with *French* Forces, on receiving a suitable Recompense. This Proposal was approved by many of the King's Council, who considering that, till the *Venetians* were totally excluded from the *Terra firma*, his Majesty must be at a vast Expence for preserving his Dominions, advised him now, once for all, to lay out his Money freely, and spare no Cost to free himself from all future Apprehensions. The King was not wholly averse to this Counsel for the same Reason, and therefore was inclined to pass into *Italy* with a potent Army; he called it *potent*, whenever it consisted of more than Sixteen Hundred Lances, with his standing Troops, and

*A. D.* 1510. Gentlemen. He was however induced by different Reaſons to form other Sentiments, and ſtood much in Suſpenſe, not knowing which Way to reſolve. And he was in a greater Perplexity than uſual, becauſe the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who bore a mighty Sway, and was of a great Spirit, labouring under a tedious and troubleſome Diſtemper, could not attend on public Buſineſs, which uſed to be under his ſole Direction. What reſtrained the King, beſides his natural Averſion to Profuſeneſs, was a paſſionate Deſire to become Maſter of *Verona*; for which End he thought it moſt adviſable that *Maximilian* ſhould be kept conſtantly employed, and involved in ſuch Difficulties as to require his Aid, as he had done lately, when not being able to pay his *German* Troops in Garriſon at *Verona*, on Application, he had lent him Eighteen Thouſand Ducats, and engaged to make it up Fifty Thouſand, on Condition that for his Security he ſhould not only keep the Cittadel of *Verona*, but ſhould have *Caſtel Vecchio* conſigned to him, with the Gate of the City next to it, for the Benefit of free Ingreſs and Egreſs; and

King of *France* covets *Verona*.

and if the Money were not repaid within One Year, the King was to remain in perpetual Poſſeſſion of *Valeggio*, with Leave to fortify that Town and the Citta-del at *Cæſar*'s Expence. *A. D.* 1510.

THE King was perplexed in Mind on theſe Accounts, but he was much more diſturbed with the Apprehenſions of to-tally loſing the Favour of the Pope, if he ſhould lead or ſend a new Army into *Italy*. For the Pontiff, poſſeſſed with Jealouſy, was very loth that the King of *France* ſhould become Lord of *Verona*, and, beſides continuing in his Diſpoſition to abſolve the *Venetians* from his Cenſures, he endeavoured, by all Means, to contract an Alliance with the *Swiſs*, and with this View had ſent back the Biſhop of *Sion* to his Country, with Money for that Nation, and the Promiſe of a Cardinal's Hat for himſelf. He laboured alſo, with the ut-moſt Diligence, to alienate the Affections of the King of *England* from the King of *France*. The former of theſe two Princes, tho' charged by his Father, when at the Point of Death, for his own Quiet King of *France* embaraſ-ſed.

*A. D.* 1510. and Security, to continue in Friendſhip with the Kingdom of *France*, for which the *French* paid him the yearly Sum of Fifty Thouſand Ducats, yet, incited by the Heat of Youth, and the vaſt Treaſure left him by his Father, ſeemed to be more influenced by the Counſels of thoſe who, induced by a Deſire of Innovations, and by the general inveterate Enmity of the *Engliſh* Nation to the Name of the *French*, were for hurrying their King into a War, than by the prudent Advice and Example of his Father, who was never embroiled with the *French*, and tho' he had been made King of a new and very unſettled Kingdom, yet held the Reins of Government with all due Obedience from his Subjects, and perfect Tranquillity to himſelf. Theſe Conſiderations created great Uneaſineſs in the King of *France*, who was removed to *Lions*, that he might be nearer at hand to attend to the Affairs of *Italy*; but he was apprehenſive that his Paſſage into that Country would give Occaſion to the Pope, who had openly deteſted his Coming, to raiſe new Broils and Diſturbances. He was alſo diſſuaded from

from this Expedition by the King of *Aragon*, in which he pretended to act only the Part of a Friend, and a Lover of the public Tranquillity. *A. D.* 1510.

UNDER theſe Embarraſſments and Doubts, which preſented themſelves from every Quarter, *Lewis* found at laſt that the beſt and ſureſt Advice he could take, was to uſe all his Intereſt and Application for ſoftening the Spirit of the Pontiff, ſo far at leaſt as to be aſſured of not having him for an Oppoſer or Enemy. For accompliſhing this End there ſeemed to offer a favourable Opportunity, for it was believed that the Death of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, whoſe Diſorder was ſo great that he was not expected to live, would be the Means of removing that Jealouſy which was generally believed to be the principal Cauſe of thoſe Alterations in the Pope. And becauſe the King was informed that the Cardinal of *Aus*, Nephew of *Rouen*, and thoſe other Agents who had the Management of his Affairs in the Court of *Rome*, raſhly and inconſiderately, both in their Words and Actions, made it their Buſi-

King of *France* ſeeks the Favour of the Pope.

A. D. 1510. Buſineſs to exaſperate inſtead of mollifying, as it was neceſſary, the Spirit of the Pontiff, he would no longer employ them, but ſent poſt to *Rome Alberto Pio*, Count of *Carpi*, a Perſon of great Spirit and Dexterity. He was entruſted with a very ample Commiſſion, and was not only to offer his Holineſs the Forces and Authority of the King on all Occaſions, and in what manner he pleaſed, and to behave himſelf towards him with all that Reſpect and Regard which were moſt agreeable to his Nature and Inclination, but alſo ſincerely to communicate the whole Subſtance of what the King had treated with *Maximilian*, with that Prince's Requeſts; and alſo to refer to the final Determination of his Holineſs, whether he ſhould paſs into *Italy* or not, and whether he ſhould be ready or remiſs in ſending Aſſiſtance to *Cæſar*. He had alſo in Charge to oppoſe the Abſolution of the *Venetians*, but that was a Point already determined and promiſed by the Pope before the Ambaſſador's Arrival.

THE *Venetians*, after a Diſpute of many Months

Months between their Ambaſſadors and the Pope's Commiſſioners, conſented to the Conditions at which they had boggled, becauſe they ſaw no other Remedy for their Security than to comply with them. On the 24th of *February* the Conditions on which the Abſolution was to be granted were read in a Conſiſtory, in the Preſence of the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, who confirmed them with an Inſtrument by an authentic Order of their Republic. They were in Subſtance as follows: The *Venetians* ſhall not confer, or in any Manner whatſoever grant Benefices or Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, nor oppoſe or make any Difficulties about receiving thoſe Proviſions made concerning them which come from the Court of *Rome:* That they ſhould not obſtruct the Tryal of Cauſes relating to Benefices, or of any Matters appertaining to the eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the aforeſaid Court: That they ſhould not charge with Tythes, or any kind of Impoſition, the Goods of the Church, or of Places exempt from the temporal Dominion: That they ſhould withdraw the Appeal which they had interpoſed from the

*A. D.* 1510.

Pope abſolves the *Venetians*.

The Conditions.

A. D. 1510. the Monitory, and all their Rights, howſoever acquired, to the Towns of the Church, particularly the Right which they pretended to have of keeping a Biſdomino in *Ferrara*: That the Subjects of the Church, and their Shipping ſhall have free Navigation in the Gulf, and with ſuch ample Privileges, that the Merchandiſe of other Nations in their Bottoms ſhall not be ſearched, nor declared liable to pay any Duties or Cuſtoms: That they ſhall not in any manner intermeddle with the Affairs of *Ferrara*, or of any Town of that State depending on the Church: That all Covenants made with any Subject or Vaſſal of the Church in prejudice of the eccleſiaſtical Rights ſhall be diſannulled: That they ſhall give no Reception to any Dukes, Barons, or other Subjects or Vaſſals of the Church, who ſhall be Rebels or Enemies to the Apoſtolic See: That they ſhall reſtore all the Sums levied upon the Effects of Eccleſiaſtics, and indemnify the Church for all the Loſſes it had ſuſtained by their Means.

THESE

*A. D.* 1510.

THESE Obligations, with the Promiſes and Renunciations required, being received in the Conſiſtory, the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors on the Day appointed, according to antient Precedents, repaired to the Porch of *Saint Peter*'s Church, where proſtrating themſelves at the Feet of the Pontiff, who ſat in the pontifical Chair near the Brazen Gates, the whole Body of Cardinals and a great Number of Prelates aſſiſting, they humbly aſked Pardon, confeſſing their Obſtinacy and the Faults they had committed. After this certain Prayers being read, and the accuſtomed Ceremonies ſolemnly performed, the Pope received them into Favour, gave them his Abſolution, and enjoined them for Penance to viſit the Seven Churches. Having thus obtained Abſolution they entered the Church of *St. Peter*, being introduced by the chief Penitentiary. From hence they were honourably accompanied, not as Perſons any longer excommunicated, or interdicted, but as good Chriſtians, and devout Sons of the Apoſtolic See, by a Number of the Prelates and Courtiers, to their reſpective

*A. D.* 1510. reſpective Habitations. The Ambaſſadors after their Abſolution returned to *Venice*, leaving only at *Rome Girolamo Donato*, one of their Number, a Perſon of excellent Learning, who by his extraordinary Parts and Dexterity greatly ingratiated himſelf with the Pope, and did ſignal Service to his Country in future Negotiations with his Holineſs *.

* It being cuſtomary for the Pope, when he reſtores his Bleſſing to any Prince or Republic, to give it with Rods on the Shoulders of their Ambaſſadors on the Staircaſe of the Vatican, *Julius*, in Honour to the *Venetians*, changed that Penance into an Order for viſiting the Seven Churches. *Buonac.*

*Giovio* writes, that *Julius* ſettled firſt with the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors that the Senate ſhould depute Six of their moſt conſpicuous Noblemen to implore Abſolution publickly, and in a penitent Manner, in the Portico of *St. Peter's* Church.

*End of the Eighth Book and Fourth Volume.*

## ERRATA.

Page 23. r. *Fregoſo.* p. 47. r. excludes. p. 62. r. *Gambacerta.* p. 73. r. lead. p. 79. r. continued. p. 104. Blot out *ſo that.* p. 188. line 19. *after* from the *inſert* Temerity and too inſolent Proceedings. p. 219. r. Ambaſſadors. p. 238. r. Arms. p. 328. r. *Montfelice.* p. 380. r. *Zeno.*

## Explanation of Names in the Third and Fourth Volumes.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Dionigi* | *Denys* |
| *Ferdinando* | *Ferdinand* |
| *Federigo* | *Frederick* |
| *Giulio* | *Julius* |
| *Ugo* | *Hugh* |
| *Leonardo* | *Leonard* |
| *Ercole* } | *Hercules* |
| *Hercole,* } | |
| *Agostino* | *Auſtin* |
| *Trento* | *Trent* |
| *Mantoua* | *Mantua* |
| *Padoua* | *Padua* |
| *Battista* | *Baptiſt* |
| *Giovanni Battista* | *John Baptiſt* |
| *Giovan Giordano* | *John Jordan* |
| *Manuelo* | *Emanuel* |
| *Ettore* | *Hector* |
| *Marco* | *Mark* |
| *Tito* | *Titus* |
| *San Martino* | *St. Martin* |
| *San Germano* | *St. Germain* |
| *Valentino* | *Valentine* |
| *Zaccaria* | *Zachary* |
| *Luigi* | *Lewis* |
| *Giovan Luigi* | *John Lewis* |
| *Adice* | *River Adige* |
| *Elisabetta* | *Elizabeth* |
| *Luca* | *Luke* |
| *Santa Croce* | *Holy Croſs* |

Par-

| | |
|---|---|
| *Pandolfo* | *Pandolph* |
| *San Giorgio* | *St. George* |
| *Marco Antonio* | *Mark Anthony* |
| *Alfonſo* | *Alfonſus* |
| *Giovio* | *Jovius* |
| *Bembo* | *Bembus* |
| *Giuſtiniano* | *Juſtinian* |
| *Polbattiſta* | *Paul Baptiſt* |
| *Matteo* | *Matthew* |
| *Giorgio* | *George* |
| *Marguerite* | *Margaret,* |
| *Alberto* | *Albert* |
| *Andrea* | *Andrew* |
| *Filippo* | *Philip* |
| *Filippo Maria* | *Philip Mary* |
| *Gio. Franceſco* | *John Francis* |
| *Franceſco Maria* | *Francis Mary* |
| *Guido* | *Guy* |
| *Conſtantino* | *Conſtantine* |
| *Bernardo* } | *Bernard* |
| *Bernardino* } | |
| *Lattantio* | *Lactantius* |
| *Ognifanti* | *All Saints* |
| *Codalunga* | *Long-tail* |
| *Lucio* | *Lucius* |
| *Caſtel Vecchio* | *Old Caſtle* |
| *Civita Vecchia* | *Old City* |

*N. B.* The ſame Name of Perſons and Places terminates ſometimes with a different Vowel, as *Grimaldo* or *Grimaldi*, *Eſſe* or *Eſti*.

00037551

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016